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THE LIFE

OF

ADAM MARTINDALE,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

AND NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

EDITED BY

THE REV. RICHARD PARKINSON, B.D.,

CANON OF MANCHESTER,

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XLV.

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PREFACE.

UNLESS the Editor has fallen into the common mistake of unduly magnifying the importance of that which has been long present to his mind, he is not without expectation that the work, now printed by the CHETHAM SOCIETY, will be found most interesting, not only as a vivid sketch of the life, opinions, and character of an individual, but as adding to the national history of events of all others the most important in our annals — the great religious and political movements of the seventeenth century. All the accounts hitherto produced of that stirring period, from the dignified and philosophical history of Clarendon to the pathetic memoirs of Mrs. Hutchinson, have been the work of persons whose opinions had been previously formed, though they were actors in, or acted upon, by the great events of that day; but here we are presented with the most intimate thoughts, feelings, and actions of one, who was formed by, and the very creature of, the time; nursed from his cradle in the atmosphere of that great revolution, and mixing from his childhood in the military and religious turmoils which then agitated every portion of society, from its surface to its centre. It was at one time the object of the Editor to attempt a summary of the extraordinary character whose

self-drawn picture is here presented to his readers; but he has withheld himself from the arduous task from the reflection, that it will be more agreeable to them to draw such deductions for themselves from the materials here supplied; which, whatever may be the conclusions that each may deduce from the premises, are at least plain and intelligible to all. To one or two points, however, it may be desirable just to allude.

The style of the work, it will at once be perceived, is perfectly original and *sui generis*. It is not formed upon any previous or then prevailing model; but is pure, simple, idiomatic English. It is the plain language of every-day life, then spoken throughout the two Counties Palatine, by men of middle rank; adhered to through life by a man of excellent education, (the more so because self-acquired;) and applied by him to topics, in treating of which it has been generally thought necessary to adopt a more learned and scholastic tone. When Martindale assumed the scanty gown and ample bands of the Non-conformist Minister, he did not at the same time divest himself of the plain doublet and hose of the honest Lancashire Freeholder.[1]

[1] The reader is requested by no means to be deterred by their somewhat repulsive aspect from the perusal of what Martindale styles the "Observations," which he has appended to each chapter of his memoir. They form one of the most characteristic portions of his work. They comprise a striking summary of the current proverbial wisdom of his country and his day, enlarged by the results of his own experience, and often expressed in most felicitous language.

It will be observed, that the work is entirely free from that affected turn of thought and expression, that exaggeration of sentiment, and that somewhat profane application of scriptural language to the common concerns of life, which generally give so much offence to serious minds in the works of most of the Puritan writers of the period. Indeed, the coolness and causticity of his tone, even when treating on deeply serious or affecting topics, might, in many minds, raise a suspicion of some deficiency in religious or natural feeling; but this would be altogether to mistake his true character. Such strong-minded men as he *conceal* their feelings under the garb of levity. They wear not their hearts upon their sleeve. They wish to keep the fountain of their feelings free from the sun; and so they conceal it from the common gaze beneath weeds and brushwood, that the stream may flow cool and pure below.

The two great and obvious defects of his character, which will at once strike the reader, are, his undisguised parsimony in money matters, and his tendency to carry by litigious ingenuity points in which it would have been more safe, as well as more dignified, to be guided by the laws of religion and conscience. Yet for these defects much may be said. They were the faults partly of his natural disposition, and partly of the circumstances in which he was placed. And it is a striking proof of the way in which men are, in this world, wisely prepared for the succeeding trials of life, that he should afterwards have been placed by Divine Providence in situations and circumstances, in

which pugnacity became justifiable self-defence, and parsimony almost a Christian virtue! If, therefore, the Editor has, in his notes, been occasionally somewhat severe upon these failings of his hero, he trusts it will be found that he has treated him as honest Isaac Walton did his frog — "he has used him as though he loved him."

One leading feature of his character is above all praise — his indomitable perseverance under the most trying difficulties. He acquires his knowledge of literature — and most extensive and accurate was that acquisition — under circumstances which would have totally disqualified common minds for the pursuit. When ejected from his home and his office by the Act of Uniformity, he quails not before the storm; he acts resolutely on the Horatian maxim,

Et mihi res, non me rebus, subjungere conor —

which may be thus rendered —

Events to me, not me to them, I bend —

he turns, with an unbroken mind, to a new and untried study at an age when it is extremely difficult to acquire a fresh art or science; and places himself, by the confession of his contemporaries, at the head of those who successfully prosecuted the cultivation of practical mathematics. The *res angusta domi*, and the sorrows of successive domestic afflictions, could not unfit his mind for a study, which above all others requires calmness and self-possession for its cultivation.

Should it be deemed by the learned reader that the notes upon some topics are copious even to redundancy, he is requested to bear in mind that the CHETHAM SOCIETY is not composed simply of scholars and antiquarians, but of persons who take a natural and deep interest in everything which illustrates the history of the two Palatine Counties in which the scene of Martindale's life is laid. It was, therefore, the object of the Editor to produce, for such readers, a book which might be read *by itself*, and without constant reference to such works as, though well known to the student, are not always at hand to the general reader.

It has been a source of great satisfaction to the Editor to reflect, that while labouring in the cause of the CHETHAM SOCIETY, he has been at the same time prosecuting inquiries which lie in the direct line of his proper professional studies. No period of our history is so instructive to the Divine as that of the century here brought under our view. It was then that the seeds sown at the time of the Reformation, mixed as they were with the stirring elements of the revival of learning, and the developements of commerce in this country, first brought forth their natural and various fruit. The Editor feels conscious to himself that he has approached the consideration of these questions with all the impartiality which is compatible with the well-defined opinions implied by his profession; and if, in conclusion, without entering further into the religious part of the question, he should pronounce the result of his investigation to be but, if possible, a higher admiration and a deeper

reverence of the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, he feels convinced that he shall be pardoned by every enlightened reader, of whatever creed, who is willing to allow that a calm and impartial inquiry into the rival merits of differing opinions is quite consistent with an open declaration of what the writer conceives to be the Truth.

Of the history of the manuscript little is known. It was left by Dr. Birch among his collection of books and manuscripts to the British Museum, and is a very unpretending-looking volume, the handwriting exhibiting some traces of advancing age. A copy of it was procured by Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.S.A., of Hope End, Ledbury, Herefordshire, which was purchased, when his valuable collection of documents relating to Lancashire was disposed of, for the use of the Chetham Library. Of this copy a transcript was made by the Rev. John Piccope, Incumbent of Farndon, Cheshire, who has kindly lent it for the use of the press.

It now only remains that the Editor should express his gratitude to those able and zealous friends, without whose ready assistance a task so unequal to his powers could not have been executed, and would not have been undertaken by him. That gratitude is in the first instance due to Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Keeper of Antiquities in the British Museum; to whom the Editor is indebted, not only for a careful reading of the Manchester copy with the original manuscript, but for much valuable information which is only accessible in that inestimable

depository of national literature. Secondly, to his friends, the Rev. F. R. Raines, M.A., F.S.A., Incumbent of Milnrow, and to James Crossley, Esq., of Manchester, who have most liberally laid open to him their inexhaustible treasures of local and antiquarian lore. To Edward Holme, Esq., M.D., the venerable and learned President of the Chetham Society, he is deeply indebted for watching the progress of the work through the press, and for the general interest which he has kindly exhibited in the undertaking.

R. P.

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LIFE

OF

ADAM MARTINDALE.

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Section I.

I was borne in the month of September, 1623, about the middle of it, but upon what particular day of that month I could never learne; but (a) by the Register booke at Prescott (where I was baptized), it appears that I was solemnly initiated as a christian upon the ****[1] of the same. The particular place of my birth was at the High-Heyes, by Mossebanke, in that prettie neat habitation called then the new

[1] It is rather curious that Martindale, having, as it would seem, consulted the Register Book for the date of his baptism, should, after all, have omitted to record it. The following, however, is the entry, a copy of which has been kindly furnished me by the present vicar:

Extract from "The Register Booke of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burialls, at the Parish Church, in the Parish of Prescot, in the County of Lancaster:

"Johēs Alden	Baptizati.	Jo. Burtenwoode
Vicar.		Curatus.
	September, 1623.	
Windle.	Adamas filius Henerici Martindale, 21 die."	

John Alden, B. D., of King's College, Cambridge, and Vice-Provost, was instituted to the vicarage of Prescot, Nov. 16, 1616, and died there in 1642.

(b) house (in opposition to the old one then standing), which father first built and annexed to his new barne, from which in time, when the whole tenement was his owne, he removed to the old house, pulling downe the inner walls, floores, and chimnies, of the new one, and laying it to the barne, to furnishe him with more stowage for his corne. And in processe of time he, together with my brother Thomas, pulled downe the old house quite to the ground, and built that strong
(c) and large stone house that now stands in its place.

Section II.

I was welcomed into the world by a great losse, which my father sustained at that very time or neare it. He and diverse other yeo-
(d) men were bound as sureties with a gentleman of quality, for about three-score pounds (as I take it), a small summe for such a person to have paid out of his great estate, nor would it much have hurt the sureties had they paid it equally amongste them. Nay, if he had paid it all himselfe, provided due time had been given him to raise it, so as no accidental prejudice had attended, it would have beene no crushing businesse; but as it was circumstanced, it was a very heavie blow upon him; for the gentleman and his officers taking no care, but suffering the suit to runne on upon the bond, at last several writs came out against the sureties; my father not suspecting any such thing, but having a little before put himselfe out of money and into some present debt, by marling two closes called the Sheep-crofts at vast charges, as he was walking among the marle heaps, he was clapt upon the backe with a writ, and taken by the bayliffes, whom nothing would satisfie but either paying downe the money or going to prison. The latter was very unpleasant to be thought of, and tended to crack his credit, which he highly valued, and to doe the former in such hast he had no way but to let the new marled-land for seven yeares. And such was the proofe[1] of it, that the second yeare's crop, which was the first of barley, paid them all their money backe clearely that had taken it, so that they had the other six yeares

[1] "Proofe" is an old Lancashire word for "produce," still in use among the farmers in that sense.

for nothing, which upon a moderate computation might very well amount to one hundred and fifty, if not two hundred pounds losse to him. After a time, he had the money repaid him for which he was taken, which helpt to get him out of debt for his marling money, but his precious new marled ground was gone remedilessly for seven yeares. But he having other good corne land, and being in a constant way of getting money freely, made a good shift to weare out these yeares and found it still rich when it came to him. However this good came of it, that he made a resolution himselfe, and charged his sonnes (e) (when they came up), never to be surety for any man, whereby he escaped some snares, and particularly one from a neighbour that lived in good fashion, and knowing my father to have occasion for a good summe of money, to carrie on some great workes, desired him to joyne with him, in taking up so much as would fit both their occasions, which, if my father had done, he must have paid all, for the other soone after broke all to pieces, went out of the country, and never returned. In all this relation I have forborne to mention men's names[1] (which I could easily have done), because I would not reflect upon the dead, nor their relations still living.

Section iii.

The next remarkable providence, well worth acknowledging to the praise of God's goodnesse, was a deliverance from death when I was so young that I cannot remember it, but I can easily beleeve them that told me of it, because I shall carrie the marke of it to my grave. (f) There was set upon a floore for some use or other, the bottom part of a broken earthen pot (called there a mug) with water in it, of which some being spilt upon the floore, made it very slipperie, and I being a little stirring lad playing about it, my feet slipt, and downe I came with violence, hitting my little tender head[2] against an ugly

[1] This caution about names, which might be very prudent at the time, is very perplexing now. It is quite impossible to trace many of the persons alluded to in this way in the narrative, from the systematic manner in which names are avoided throughout.

[2] This sympathy, in old age, with his infant sorrows, is very amusing.

sharpe corner of the broken pot, which gave me a deepe and dangerous wound; and had not the providence of God watched over me when a poore dadling infant, it might very probably have pierced my very braine; but he having worke for me, mercifully prevented my death, and by his blessing upon the paines and care taken in dressing the gaping cut, brought on a perfect cure.

Section iv.

This had somewhat of danger in it, but the next boded no lesse than present death. My elder sister having some businesse to doe at a marle pit not far from the house (which served as a watering poole, fish pond, and other uses, as to wash, scoure, or the like), I being a little boy in coates, but so growne that I can well remember it, reaching at something that grew upon the pit's brinke, fell in; and
(g) before she was aware (being intente on her businesse) I was almost quite drowned, being senselesse and seemingly dead when she drew me out; but being laid on a cushion by the fire-side with my face downewards, I began, after some time, to come to myself againe, having vomited up a great quantity of water. Afterwards being got to bed and carefully tended, I was quickely well againe; but had not my gracious God caused my sister to desist from her businesse and to looke after me in that nicke of time, or had they unskillfully laid me with my face upward, as some foolish people have done to others, my life had then expired.[1]

I am confident drowning is one of the easiest of deaths, for though I have not yet forgotten the coldnesse of the water that ran downe my throat, I doe not in the least remember any paine, or other trouble, and its like I should never have beene sensible of any after I was got into that condition wherein I was drawne out, though I had died in the pit. But this by the way.

Not very long after, as I was going one Lord's-day with some company to St. Hellen's chappell, we had the curiosity to peep downe into
(h) an old coale-pit that had a great deal of water in. It was timbered

[1] The "foolish people," the Humane Society, direct that "the head and shoulders be supported in a raised position."

neare the top to keepe the earth from falling in, as is usuall, for the security of the workmen; but on the outside of the timber, the earth was chapt and fallen in, so as to make a little hoale that went a little sloaping into the pit of which I was not aware, and treading neare the brinke of it, the ground was just failing under my feet, and I readie to slip in, which if I had, there had certainly beene an end of me; but by the gracious guidance of God, one that was with me (I thinke it was my brother Henry), got hold of me with all speed, and plucked me away from the jawes of deathe.

Section v.

About the same time, when I was neare six yeares old, one Anne (i) Simpkin, who was one of my sureties at the font, being grown low in the world, but not in goodnesse, out of a reall principle of conscience to performe her promises and engagements for me at my baptisme (as I verily beleeve), bestowed an A B C upon me; a gift in itselfe exceeding small and contemptible, but in respect of the designe and event, worth more than its weight in gold.[1] For till that time I was all for childish play, and never thought of learning. But then I was frequently importunate with my mother that had laid it up (thinking I would onelie pull in pieces) to give it into mine owne hands, which being so small a trifle she accordingly did; and I, by the help of my brethren and sisters that could read, and a young man that came to court my sister, had quickly learned it, and the primmer also after it. Then of mine owne accord I fell to reading the bible and any other English booke, and such great delight I tooke in it, and the praises I got by it from my parents, which preferred my reading before any other in the family, that I thinke I could almost have read a day together without play or meat, if breath and strength would have held out, and thus it continued to the end of the first seven yeares of my life.

[1] Adam should have had some feelings of gratitude, in after-life, for the Church system of providing sponsors at Baptism. His account of his self-education is very interesting.

Section vi.

Towards the close whereof there fell out a grievous and troublesome businesse to our family wherein I had my share with the rest. The saddest part of it, which was the finall issue, came about two yeares after, and shall be related in its proper season, but that which came within this Septennium was sad enough. There had lately beene a great plague in London,[1] causing many that had friends in the country to come downe, who having employments to returne unto, were full as hasty to goe up as consisted with safety; and my
(j) sister Jane having conversed with some of them, was as forward as they. Our parents and other prudent friends were against her going for many substantiall reasons:

(k) 1. She wanted nothing at home, nor was likely to lacke anything; and if she had a mind to be married, my father was then in a good ordinary capacity to preferre her.

2. She had no friends in London to go to.

3. It was feared the Cittie was not cleare of the plague, as it proved to her cost.

4. She had beene bred in a most pure air, and being of a fresh complexion and not very hardly,[2] 'twas much to be questioned whether the cittie aire would agree with her in the most healthfull times.

But all these would not backe her. She measured not a competencie by the same mete-wand that they did. Freeholders' daughters were then confined to their felts, pettiecoates and wastcoates, crosse handkerchiefs about their neckes, and white crosse-clothes upon their heads, with coifes under them wrought with black silk or worsteed.

[1] The great plague in London during this "Septennium," occurred in the year 1625, when the return of the numbers that fell by the plague, as given in the Bills of Mortality, appears to have been 35,417, exceeding that for the year 1603, when the number returned was 30,561, but falling greatly short of the return in the tremendous visitation in 1665, which was no less than 68,596. The plague of 1625 was that which Withers has commemorated in his "*Britaine's Remembrancer*," 1628, 12mo.

[2] Hardly (hard-like), a word still in use in Lancashire,—as an adjective for hardy.

Tis true the finest sort of them wore gold or silver lace upon their wastcoates, good silk laces (and store of them) about their pettiecoates, and bone laces or workes about their linnens. But the proudest of them (below the gentry) durst not have offered to weare an hood, or a scarfe, (which now every beggar's brat that can get them thinks (l) not above her,) noe, nor so much as a gowne till her wedding day. And if any of them had transgressed these bounds, she would have beene accounted an ambitious foole.[1] These limitations I suppose she did not very well approve, but having her father's spirit, and her mother's beauty, no persuasion would serve, but up she would to serve a ladie as she hoped to doe, being ingenious at her needle. Moneyes to carrie her up and to subsist on awhile, till she got a place, was all she could handsomely desire, seeing she went against her parents' will, and that she was furnished with. But when it came to a going indeed, my mother's heart had like to have broke for extremity of sorrow, and indeed there was great cause for it, considering how irregularly her daughter broke away (m) from her; and as she had reason to suspect it, so it proved, a final parting for this world, for they never after saw one another's faces againe. I also was much concerned both in her journey and my mother's griefe, for both of them were fond of me, and tooke me oft abroade with them.[2]

After her arrivall at the cittie she was quickely infected with the (n) pestilence. Yet it dealte pretty favourably with her (perhaps too favourably for she after had it againe), but though the pest was over the plague was not, for she was still kept shut up,[3] and her money

[1] This is a curious evidence of the late period down to which ranks, even to the lowest grade, were distinguished by, and restricted to, a particular style of dress.

[2] This touching Episode, proof as it is that neither controversy nor calculation had drawn dry the fountains of early affection, is one of the finest parts of the book. The adventurous launch of this poor girl upon "the still vexed Bermoothes," where pestilence, and moral influences worse than pestilence, breathed danger and contamination, her fortunes and their melancholy close, are told with a simplicity and pathos which must have their effect upon the heart of every reader. We could have spared many a more elaborate chapter for a few more sketches like that containing "the short and simple annals" of Jane Martindale.

[3] The shutting up of houses, De Foe informs us, (*Journal of the Plague*, p. 45,)

grew very low. Then with the prodigall, she thought oft upon the
(o) plentie of her father's house, yet knowing upon what terms she had left it, she concealed her straits from us. Onelie in a gentile way she writ for a goose-pie to make merrie with her friends; and a lustie one was immediately sent her, cased in twig worke; but before it could reach her (the carrier being three weekes in coming downe and returning), or the money that was sent with it to make her friends drinke as well as eate, that the goose might swim without her cost, her money grew so neare to an end, that she had thoughts to sell her haire, which
(p) was very lovely both for length and colour. At which instant a gentleman that went up in her company being fallen in love with her, (suspecting what her condition might be,) supplied her for the present, and shortly after married her. He had beene well borne and bred, but was master of no great matters in the world. They were thought very fit to keep an Inn, as accordingly they did at the George and Halfe-moone without Temple-Barre. This cost my father's purse to purpose in helping to set them in house, and my mother rarely failed any the returne of the carrier, to send them up country provisions,
(q) such as bacon, cheeses, pots of butter, &c.; nor did this at all trouble her, but ever when she thought of the necessitous condition of her daughter at her coming up (or soone after), and her follie in concealing it from her, it even cut my poore mother to the heart.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON SOME PASSAGES OF THE FOREGOING CHAPTER.

([a]) I am more particularly certified when I was solemnly admitted as a Christian by Baptisme, than when I commenced man by birth. 'Twere good for us wee were never borne, if wee be not borne againe, of which baptisme is the sacred signe and seale.

([b]) See a lively embleme of this transitory world, a neat house, made

was a method first taken in the plague in 1603, at the coming of King James the First to the Crown, and the power of shutting people up in their own houses was granted by an Act of Parliament, entituled "An Act for the charitable Relief and ordering of persons infected by the Plague." The dreadful scenes which the exercise of this power produced, are depicted by De Foe in all the striking colours of his genius.

with a purpose, to be at most demolished in a short time. But what a bable [bauble?] was that compared to the stupendious building of the visible heavens and earth, which are reserved for fire. 2 St. Pet. iii. 7, &c.

(c) If it be usuall with men in pulling downe old buildings to designe the erecting of better, we have great reason to beleeve that when the present earth and visible heavens are burnt up, there will be new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousnesse. 2 St. Pet. iii. 13.

(d) See how an innocent man and a good husband may fall into the road to ruine by surtiship.

(e) The burnt child dreads the fire, and one losse may caution a wise man to prevent many; happy is he that makes such good use of his disasters.

(f) Any thing may be instrumentall if God will make use of it to bring afflictions and dangers. What a contemptible thing is a pot-sherd, yet that caused me a great deal of smart, and endangered my very life.

(g) God sometimes appeares in the mount, as he did to save Isaac when the hand of his father was stretched out to slay him, staying so long as will make the deliverance more admirable, yet not too long so as to make indeavours unprofitable.

(h) Let people learne to abstaine on the Lord's day, not onelie from servile workes and grosse sorts of play, but even from vaine and wanton curiosity, less they provoke God to their perill.

(i) What abundance of benefits may arise from a small gift well designed and seconded by God's blessing! A pennie booke accompanied with such advantages was the first occasion of that little learning that I attained to.

(j) All peoples circumstances are not alike. Some are more called to adventures than others are, and consequently may expect that protection that others cannot, who presume without that warrant.

(k) 'Tis an old proverbe, that those that fare well and flit have St. Patrick's curse. I am sure many get to themselves (if not curses) yet crosses from a greater then he, when they are well and cannot be content, but wantonly change their station without just cause.

(l) It is no wonder if Judgements abound in this land of ours, when pride (which God abhorres) is so encreased among us; the meanest sort of servant maids now ordinarily wearing such gentile habits as the best sort of Freeholders' daughters, a few years since, durst not presume to doe.

(m) It is a sad thing for parents to part with their children, going out of God's way, so as they may expect God will meet them with a storm, as he did Jonah.

(n) God hath great varietie of rods in store, and often takes up one after another to scourge such as stray from him, especially while they remaine stubborne and unhumbled.

(o) They say, self-sore is no sore; but certainly 'tis the worst of sores, for besides that it causeth smart of conscience, when people by their obstinacie against good counsell and lawfull authority hurt themselves, it shames them from complaining to such as are likest to helpe them.

(p) God sometimes in our straits sends us reliefe from their hands from whom we never expected it.

(q) If parents take it so unkindly from their children when they conceale their straits from them, how much more may God be offended with his people if they neglect to call on him in their necessities, seeing he hath bidden them call on him in the time of trouble and he will deliver them, and to open their mouthes and he will fill them. 2. Chron. xvi. 12; Psalm l. 15; lxxxi. 10.

CHAPTER II.

I. My first going to schoole and hindrances I mett with. II. Five of my Teachers characterized. III. My profiting under the last. IV. A disappointment in the marriage of mine eldest brother. V. My father's sore sicknesse followed with the death of my mother, VI. and of mine elder sister. VII. My falling sick of the small pox, with the issue, VIII. my father's sad distemper, IX. and mine owne. X. My second brother's unwise marriage.

Section i.

About the middle of January, 1630, when schooles began to be revived after Christmasse, I was sent to the free schoole of St. Hellens,[1] almost two miles from my father's house, a great way for a little fat short legged lad (as I was) to travell twice a day; yet I went it cheerfully (provided I might get out soone enough to be there betimes), such was my innate love to learning; nor was that any great thankes to me, it came so easily. Had not great crosses befallen me in this septennium of my life, a good teacher might well have fitted me for the University and gained me a deal of time there, (a) which I perfectly lost. My hindrances were many, as, First, many (b) teachers (five in fewer yeares). Secondly, These none of the best. Thirdly, A tedious long method then and there used. Fourthly, Dullards in the same classe with me having power to confine me to their pace; for when the lowest, who was presumed to be weakest, said, *Satis*, the ablest must take no further. Fifthly, Many sad providences making great gaps in this seven yeares, as will appeare hereafter.

Section ii.

My first master was a young ingenious sparke, having a good full

[1] St. Helen's, then an inconsiderable village in Martindale's native parish of Prescot, is now a large manufacturing town, principally celebrated for the production of British plate glass. Little is known of the origin of this school. It has been endowed at different times by various small benefactions, now amounting to

(c) schoole, but so bad an husbande,[1] that he quickely spoiled all and left us.

(d) A worse followed him, viz. an old humdrum curate, that had almost no scholars, nor deserved any, for he was both a simpleton, and a tipler. He and I parted when I was learning mine accidence without booke.

The third I went too was a woman, (daughter to a famous schoolemaster,) that had some smattering of Latine. She could teach us to construe the Latine examples of the English rules called the Parvular,[2] at least such as were rendered into English, and the Qui mihi[3] and Lillies[4] rules by the help of a construeing booke, and put us sometimes to read English; so that with her I did something better than quite loose my time, but not much. Next I was placed under another schoolemaster at St. Hellens Chappell, who was brought up at the then (e) famous schoole, of Winwicke, whence multitudes were almost yearely sent to the University; but they were usually of good yeares before they were fitted, the method where they were taught being very long. This master of mine had the Winwicke method[5] right enough, and

an annual income of £25 0s. 6d., and the master teaches 25 poor children reading, writing, and arithmetic, free of charge.—*Vide* 21st Report of the Charity Commissioners, p. 225, year 1829.

[1] "Husbande," manager.

[2] Probably Stanbridge's Parvulorum Institutiones. Or it might be Fisher's Promptuariū Parvulorum Clericorū quod apud nos Medulla grammatice appellatur Scholasticis q. maxime necessariū. I find, also, mention of a book called Longe Parvula, by Fisher, 1509, 4to.

[3] Qui mihi, the first words of a poem addressed by William Lilly to his pupils. Gulielmi Lillii ad discipulos carmen de moribus. This poem was used in common with Propria quæ maribus, Quæ Genus, As in præsenti, and Syntaxis, as a school book.

[4] From Lilly's Grammar.

[5] This shews that Winwick, the great ecclesiastical foundation of Lancashire, was as famous at that time as a scholastic establishment, as it was as a school of theology, the rectors at that period, and indeed for many generations, having as many as five or six curates, whose labours were extended throughout the neighbouring district. The universities were then the only high road to literary distinction, and the school of Winwick one of their chief feeders from this part of the kingdom. Such as failed, from various causes, to attain this object of their ambition, became useful schoolmasters in the country around. This excellent system has

was scholar sufficient for me then; but he was a very silly and unconstant man, always making new laws, in-so-much that if a boy had (f) beene absent a day or two, he knew not how to behave himself for feare of transgressing some new ridiculous order or other. Nor was [this] the worst, but being a married man with a charge, and very poore, he lay open to impressions from such as could fee him well, to carrie partially amongst his scholars, so as the whole schoole could not but be aware of the grossenesse of it. One of these acts I shall declare, wherin I was concerned, and occasioned my leaving him. (g) My father had not long before presented his wife with a good parcell of wheat; but eaten bread was soone forgotten, and no more to be suddenly expected from that quarter. In this conveniente season two arrant dunces, the onne a gentleman, and the other a young fellow that had more command of money than I, strike in for an Interest,[1] and prevailed with him to thrust me downe below them, in a most irregular way, contrary to an order made by himselfe a little before, and still standing in force. And to continue the wrong, he peremptorily denied me the libertie (which I never heard denied to any before or since), to strive with the young fellow for the recovery of my place above him, and when I had actually gotten [it] againe from the gentleman by very faire play and odds enough, (yet for sooth) because he cried, I must still be kept below him.

This I confesse I could not brooke, but complained to my father, who removed me to Raineford, a schoole somewhat nearer then St. Hellens, but more costly, because no free schoole as the other was. But the cost was prettie well bestowed, for though the Master was brought up at the same schoole with the former, he was a man of farre better parts, both natural and acquired; diligent enough in looking

been unfortunately almost in abeyance for some centuries. Let us hope that a better day is coming. The Free Grammar School at Winwick was founded by Sir Peter Legh in 1619. The instruction was provided by the founder for "the Town and Parish of Winwick."—*Vide* 20th Report of the Charity Commissioners, p. 194, year 1828.

[1] This word is somewhat illegible in the original MS. It is probable that it may be Inthrust, a somewhat vulgar but Lancashire phrase for describing the practice of "taking places," then and still common in such schools.

(h) to us, not onelie as to Grammar-learning, but as to our profitting in the catecheticall grounds of religion. He alsoe tooke notice by himselfe, and admonitors (employed to that purpose) who was absent from the publick ordinances, or carried themselves unsutably there: for the latter no excuse must serve, and for the former it must be good one.

His worst fault while he stayed there was, that he was humourous[1]
(i) and passionate, and sometimes in these moods he would whip boys most unmercifully for small or no faults at all. He once bestowed a severe correction on me for nothing in the world but defending myselfe from a great sloven (much older, taller, and stronger than myselfe), who abused me intolerably and incessantly with a besome as had been fit to have been given to one that had pickt a pocket. This I concealed; yet at last it came out, and mightily offended my father, but the schoolemaster crying *peccavi*, and promising to doe so no more, all was well againe.

Section iii.

He afterwards succeeded my former master at St. Hellens, whither I followed him. As for the proficience I made under him 'twas this: He received me when I was learning in As in præsenti and Cato, and instructed me for prose in Corderius, Æsop's fables, Tullie's offices, epistles, and orations, together with Aphthonius[2] for Latine in prose, and the Greeke Grammars of Cambden[3] first, and Clenard[4] afterwards,

[1] Humourous—capricious.

[2] Aphthonius, of Antioch, a celebrated Rhetorician and Sophist, lived in the 3rd century. He wrote various works on Rhetoric, and many Fables.

[3] Camden, the celebrated Antiquarian, published in 1597 Institutio Græcæ Grammatices compendiaria in usum Regiæ Scholæ Westmonasteriensis, of which school he was the distinguished Master.

[4] The name of this once famous Grammarian is now nearly forgotten, as indeed, with the exception of the illustrious Camden, who is on other accounts to be remembered, is the case with most of those with whom he is here associated. Clenard was a native of Diest, was a Grammarian and Traveller, and died at Grenada in 1542. He wrote a Greek Grammar, once of considerable reputation, of which G. I. Vossius published an improved edition; likewise a Hebrew Grammar, and sundry volumes of Letters, &c. His Epistolæ de Rebus Muhamedicis, published at Lovain, 1561, 8vo., are curious and interesting. Dr. Johnson's remark to

together with a Greeke Catechisme, and lastly the Greeke Testament (j)
(for I proceeded no further with him); and for poetrie in Mantuan,[1]
Terence, Ovid's Epistles and Metamorphosis, Virgill, and Horace.
The rhetorics he read to us were Susenbrotus[2] first and Talœus[3] after-
wards. Mine exercises were usually a piece of Latine (of which he
him selfe dictated the English) every day of the weeke, save Thurs-
days and Saturdays; and besides somewhat weekly as I rose in
ability, first a dialogue in imitation of Corderius, or Pueriles Confabu-
latiunculæ, then an epistle wherin I was to follow Cicero, though
(alas!) at a great distance. Then Themes (as we called them) in
the way of Aphthonius, consisting of many parts, and taking up one
side of halfe a sheet prettie thicke written, and (towards the latter
end) good store of verses on the backe side, most Hexameters
and Pentameters, but some Sapphickes and Adonickes. All that
were presumed by their standing able to discourse in Latine were
under a penalty if they either spoke English or broke Priscian's
head; but barbarous language, if not incongruous for grammar, had
no punishing but derision. These were the orders we were subject
to at teaching houres; yea, though we had libertie by twos to go forth
of the schoole upon our necessary occasions, reall or pretended, and
sometimes (when the humour took him) he would tie us to them at
our times for play. How and upon what account I left him at last,
and came under the care and ordering of my fifth master, and how
far I proceeded further under him, is out of the verge of that time, to
which I am limited in this chapter, but shall come in duly circum-
stantiated for time in its proper place. In the interim I shall relate

Langton, as to the comparative oblivion into which this author had fallen, may have, it is conceived, a sound of evil omen for many reputations of our own day. "Mr. Langton happening to mention that he had read a good deal in Clenardus's Greek Grammar, 'Why, Sir, said he,' (Dr. Johnson), 'who is there in this town who knows anything of Clenardus but you and I?'"

[1] J. Baptist Spagnoli Mantuan, an Italian Poet of great temporary fame, was born at Mantua in 1448, and died in 1516. His Eclogæ X. were very popular in schools up to the beginning of the last century.

[2] Susenbrotus published a work entitled, Epitome Troporum ac Schematum et Grammaticorum et Rhetoricorum.

[3] A. Talœus, born 1533, died 1562, published a system of Rhetoric used in schools, and some Commentaries on Cicero, and other philological works.

some afflictive providences that I passed under in this seven yeares' time.

Section iv.

That which I shall begin with, as first in time and one of the least, and yet not altogether inconsiderable, was a great disappointment that my father met with in the matching of mine eldest brother. My father was not so severe as to expect that he should bring him a fortune suitable to what himselfe had got, yet (in the order that things were then brought into) an hundred or six-score pounds would easily be answered with advantage enough, and therefore not difficult to be obtained; nor was it, for besides others that it was then thought would bid him welcome, there was one that actually did soe, that had
(k) seven-score pounds to her portion, (as I have often heard) of very suitable yeares, and otherwise likely to make an excellent wife. But when things were neare accomplishing, he on a sudden sleights her, and sets his affection upon a young wild airy girle, betweene fifteen and sixteen yeares of age; an huge lover and frequenter of wakes, greenes, and merrie-nights, where musick and dancing abounded. And as for her portion, it was onely forty pounds. This was a great surprise upon us, and we were all full bent against it. I was then under ten yeares old, but was either of my selfe, or by impressions from others, apprehensive of the difference of these two matches.[1] But say and do what we could, he was uncounsellable, have her he would, and at last with much adoe, he procured my father's unwilling
(l) consent, and married her about Shrovetide, 1632, as I take it. 'Tis true, indeed, she proved above all just expectation not onely civill, but religious, and an exceeding good wife; whereas the other he should have had, proved (as I have heard) as much below it; but that was the effect of God's great and undeserved goodnesse, not any prudent choise of his, and the smallnesse of her fortune was a great prejudice to our family, for notwithstanding the portion was so inconsiderable,

1 Adam was soon initiated into the deep mysteries of thrift. The whole of this sketch—the mixture of money and morality—the cunning clothing of selfishness under the garb of pious prudence here exhibited, is very characteristic of the man, as well as of his age and station.

he had the inheritance in Hardshall[1] delivered into present possession, (m) with the coalemines, mill, and building upon it, which with small charge he finished, and let it for an Inne; and in regard of the convenience of the situation neare St. Helen's Chappell, in the great road betwixt Warrington and Ormeskirke, and about equidistant from them, it proved excellently customed, and valued at a great yearely rent. At the same time, my father settled upon him the tenement where we lived after his owne life, having at his owne charge put that sonne's life, and another's, then young and lustie, into the lease, laying so inconsiderable and contingent a charge upon it, that when my brother entered, poore twenty pounds cleared it.

Section v.

But these things were onely the beginning of sorrowes, which in a short time after, came thicke and threefold. About Februarie, 1632, (n) my father fell sicke of a most violent and raging feaver. It lay much in his head, and made him to rave and ramble strangely, to the great griefe of his poore wife and children, who all daily expected his death, but if there were any reason for him to alter his will, made some yeares before, it had beene in vaine to put him upon it, being farre from perfect mind and memory. After some time he recovered by degrees, but then my poore mother fell sicke of a ranke plurisy, (as the physician termed it,) and after a few days died, to the unspeakable griefe and losse of us all, and was buried at Prescott, neare the Diall, Aprill the first, 1632. She was generally beloved of all her acquaintance, being of so mild, peaceable, and loving a disposition, wherein no child she had ever came neare her, nor many else comparatively.

Section vi.

My sister at London hearing of my mother's sicknesse, posts downe with all speed, having bought an excellent swift mare to that (o) purpose, which performed the journey in short time, but for all that

[1] Windle with Hardshaw together form a Township in the Parish of Prescot. The Gerards are the Lords of the Manor.

hast found her dead to her inexpressible sorrow, considering how she left her. After a short stay in the country she persuaded my father to goe up with her, (and indeed it was great charity, if she had not selfe ends in it, to give him that diversion.) However that was, it was concluded that her husband and she should come downe into the countrey to keep an Inn in Warrington, that so my father and she might be comforts and assistants one to another. But God in his wise and overruling Providence had determined otherwise. She lets the house in London, sends downe her portable goods (which being of the London mode, were admired by our plaine neighbours) and quickly comes downe her selfe, (her husband being got into the country before her.) But to shew that God doth what, when, and by what
(p) meanes he pleaseth, she that had escaped death twice, when infected with the plague, did but ride up to an inn doore on the road, for drinke in an hote day, and some children in the house being sick of the small pox, the smell thereof struck her to the heart, and before she could reach our house she fell very sicke, and in a short time after died, and was buried by my mother, upon the fifth of August, 1632.

(q) Two things concerning her were very remarkable:

1. Whereas my mother who, notwithstanding her beautie, was very humble, lay with a cleare and seemingly smiling countenance after she was dead, as if she had beene still alive; my sister that was too proud of hers became extreme ugly before she died, her face being sadly discoloured, and so swelled that scarce any forme of a visage was discernible.

(r) 2. That she was very penitent and devout in her sicknesse, as those that were much about her testified, else I was too young to take notice of such things, and it is likely the care of my friends would keep me at a distance from her, lest I should catch the distemper.[1]

[1] It is perhaps hardly necessary to direct the reader's attention to this and other numerous instances in which the doctrine of special Providences is pushed by Martindale to a dangerous and often almost ludicrous extremity. Its influence on a strong mind like his is a memorable proof of its power on the heart of man; and, injurious as was its effect on his judgment, we must remember that it was the general fault of his creed and age rather than of the individual.

Section vii.

However that was, it did not secure me, for though my brethren (s)
and my survivinge sister did all either quite escape, or come through
this distemper very easily, I was paid off soundly for them all. It
was upon a Lord's-day in St. Helen's Chappell, that I first began of
it, and was so violently sick that I could not abide the sermon out,
and was with much difficulty got home by my brother Henry.
After some little (I being kept warme) the small pox broke out very
thicke, upon which some of my friends dressed mine eyes with saffron[1] (t)
to preserve my sight, and perhaps it did me good, for though I was
blind severall daies, through the closing-up of mine eye-lids, my head
and bodie wholly overspread first with pox and after with scabs, it
pleased God to preserve both mine eyes, and (which was the greater
wonder, though lesse materiall), though my face, when the scabs
were peeled off, remained for a long time full of red spots, it was not
at all pitted, or (as they there call it) arred,[2] but in time as cleare and
smooth as ever it was.

Section viii.

This was followed close at the heeles with another great affliction,
which if it had continued, had beene as grievous as any of the rest.
My poore father having his braine sorely attenuated with an high
raging feaver, and before he was recovered, almost over-whelmed
with griefe for the losse of his dearly beloved wife and daughter, and
(which I had forgotten in its due place) of his sweet grand-child at
London, which he had there seene, and was very fond of, he fell againe
to be much disordered in his head.

Some drunkards in the neighbourhood under pretence of making

[1] Saffron seems to have been held as possessing various medicinal virtues, and is still considered by the common people of Lancashire as a specific for this disorder. Bailey says of it, that "the Pistilium or middle part, which is of a deep yellow, is taken out, dried and pressed into flat cakes, and is esteemed for its virtue, as a great cheerer of the heart."

[2] Arred, scarred, a word still in use in Lancashire. Carr, in his Craven Glossary, gives it as from the Islandic, *ärer*.

him merrie, (but indeed, to fill their guts with strong drinke at his
(u) cost), got him among them and plyed him with nappie[1] liquor, which so inflamed his head, that he talked very wildly; but in a short time (whether of himselfe or by counsell I know not) he quite left, and even hated their company, and his head began to settle by degrees, and in a little time grew rationall againe. But these raskals, perceiving their prey was gone, in revenge reporte most prodigious lying stories, and father them upon him. I doe as verily beleeve as that I am now alive, that several of their stories were their owne inventions, or corruptions of such things as he spoke innocently and truly enough, and I could give almost an unanswerable reason to prove one of the worst of them to be soe. But suppose he had uttered all these extravagant things; yet what a disingenuous thing was it in them to spread abroad these things to his disgrace when he was well againe, as were spoken when he was little better than mad, and that in a great measure caused by themselves.[2]

Section ix.

But this dreadfull seven yeares' space had not then done with me. Countrey people were many of them of opinion, that the pox bringing out so much corruption to the surface of the bodie, helped to cleare it
(v) inwardly, whereas now experience hath sufficiently manifested that they sadly corrupt it. I should, therefore, have beene soundly purged, but was not; which, as I verily beleeve, caused a vehement fermentation in my bodie, which, after two or three yeares' space, broke out in an ugly dry scurfe, eating deep and spreading broad.

[1] "Nappy ale [q. d. such as will cause persons to take a Nap], pleasant and strong Ale."—*Bailey's Dict.* The word seems to have been frequently used as a substantive, like *brown stout*, and other similar appellatives of good liquor. It is so employed by Burns, no contemptible authority on such a subject:—

> While we sit boosing at the nappy,
> An' getting fou and unco happy.

And—

> Care, mad to see a man so happy,
> E'en drown'd himself amang the nappy.
>
> *Tam O'Shanter.*

[2] This pious defence of his father's rationality would seem almost unnecessary, had there been no plausible grounds for suspecting it.

Some skillfull men, or so esteeemd, being consulted, and differing (w)
much in their opinions, we were left to these three bad choices; 1. To sleight it, to see if it would go away of it selfe as it came; or, 2. To kill it with mercury, as one of them advised; or, 3. To submit to a tedious and very smarte cure, that was hopefull to doe well, but would torture me sadly. The first of these would certainly lose me a greate deale of time, for I was very heartlesse and dumpish,[1] and fit for no company, nor businesse, and what the end would be was uncertaine. The second way seemed very dangerous, and might prove deadly. The third way was so terrible that the very thought of it were a mortification to us beforehand. In this greate straite God sent us in (x)
much mercie a poore woman, who by a salve made of nothing but Celandine and a little of the Mosse[2] of an ash root, shred and boyled in May-butter, tooke it cleare away in a short time, and though after a space there were some new breakings out, yet these being annointed with the same salve, (or oyntment) were absolutely cleared away, and I remain to this day ever since perfectly healed. And I am verily persuaded that neither scall nor leprosie can stand before it, were it but made use of in due quantities, and the cure still pursued so oft as fresh occasion shall require by new breakings out.

Section x.

Lastly, as I began these afflictive providences mentioned in this chapter, with the marriage of one brother, so I shall conclude them with another. My brother Hugh, about this time, growing wild, and unmanageable, did to all our griefes marrie a papist,[3] and went

[1] Dumpish, somewhat melancholy.—*Bailey.*

[2] I cannot find any record of the virtues of the moss of ash root, but in "The Skilfull Physician" the moss of a crab tree is stated to be good for stopping a bleeding of the nose, and "the ivy leaves that groweth upon ash trees," with woman's milk, as good for "a pain and ill" in the eye. The various virtues of the ash tree may be seen in Sir Henry Ellis's excellent Edition of *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, vol. iii. pp. 156, 157.

[3] Adam's language as to this renegade brother, and his application of the 5th commandment to his case, in his "Observations," are somewhat too bitter, even for *his* acknowledged principles. It appears, from the opening of the next chapter, that the feelings of his repudiated brother towards *him* were of a less uncharitable stamp.

with her into Ireland, so much to my father's dissatisfaction, that we
(y) had reason to beleeve we should never see him againe, as accordingly it proved.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON SOME PASSAGES OF THE FOREGOING CHAPTER.

([a]) Providence is sometimes so signall in pointing out what children are designed for, that parents are bound to observe it, if they will act prudently.

([b]) It oft pleaseth God to throw rubs in our way when we seeme very likely to attaine our ends, to let us know that he onely rules the world.

([c]) It is a thousand pitties that the use of good parts should be lost by a debauched life, yet this is growne so ordinary that its become a proverbe, the better workmen, the worse husbands.

([d]) It is an horrid shame, when men that are insufficient for parts, and unsuitable for their conversation, become ministers of the Gospell; and a great wrong to the neighbourhood when such are admitted to teach free-schooles.

([e]) When we can doe no better, it is more adviseable to secure what we have attained to, and to go forward a little, then either to decline or stand still by neglect.

([f]) Multitudes of unnecessary lawes do take much from the beautie of a government, and are temptations to inferiours to despise it.

([g]) Yet partiality is much worse, overturning the very wheeles of government; that is, rewards and punishments by misapplication.

([h]) It is the dutie of superiours (and a great mercie to inferiours) to instruct youth in religion, as well as trades or learning; and to punish offences against God as severely to the full as against themselves.

([i]) Not humour, but justice, should be the rule for punishment. If a man find himselfe in a passion, he had best deferre it for that time, according to that of the philosopher, to his servant, *Vapulasses nisi iratus sim:* — "Thou should have beene beaten if I had not beene angry." In this point my father acted very wisely, for knowing himselfe to be over-passionate, he would seldome or never correct any of us, but leave that worke to my mother, who could doe it calmely, and yet, (as we thought), smartly enough, upon just occasion.

([j]) The old saying is *Gutta cavat lapidem non vi sed sœpe cadendo:*— "The soft drop weares the hard stone by frequent falling." So a long tedious method, well plied, at length brought us to somewhat.

([k]) God sometimes deprives us of mercies, when we think the danger is past of losing them.

(l) Now and then unlikely things prove very well, and likely things as badly; but events are not our rule, being out of our view, and onely in God's power. We ought to act piously and prudently, and leave the successe to God. Some generalls have hanged soldiers for going beyond their commission, though a victory was thereby obtained.

(m) Many out of a desire that their houses may florish after them, are too kind to their heires, and thereby much wrong their younger children, especially when they have meanes in sight to make good provision for them also, which being contingent failes them.

(n) One affliction seldome comes alone: God finds in us such tough sinful humors as need many purgations.

(o) When people willfully doe what they should not, 'tis very just they should not have opportunity to rectifie them afterwards. My sister would probably have humbled her selfe to her mother, but came short of it.

(p) When God pleaseth to deliver no distemper shall be mortall, (not the plague itselfe,) but a farre lower shall doe it, having his commission to despatch us.

(q) The way to have earthly vanities continued to us, is not to be fond of them.

(r) Though (questionlesse) it is the wisest and safest course to make our peace with God, and get assurance in the time of health, yet if in time of sicknesse we are under feares lest that worke be not thorowly done, it is our interest to ply it to purpose.

(s) It is a presumption to conclude we shall escape God's hand, because others are freed that are under the like circumstances; God being bound to no rule but his owne good pleasure.

(t) Things we most feare, oft hurt us little.

(u) See the basenesse of carnall epicures, who for the sake of their own lusts, stick not at designes for the destruction of their neighbour's soule, body, and reputation.

(v) There are many dangerous vulgar errors, both naturall and morall, as among the rest that vile, wanton one, that men are made to offer, and women to deny, contrary to the example of holy Joseph. Gen. xxxix. 9.

(w) Sometimes the most knowing persons in their owne profession, when we most need them, prove like Job's comforters, physicians of no value.

(x) God doth oft bring about great matters by small and contemptible meanes, as Christ cured the blind man with clay. John ix.

(y) The fifth commandment implies a dangerous sort of plague, whereof many disobedient children dy in the flower of their yeares.

CHAPTER III.

I. My desisting from the schoole, and returne. II. My fourth master's declension. III. The character of the fifth. IV. My finall leaving the schoole. V. The sad face of things. VI. My condition at Boothes: VII. and dismission thence. VIII. A sad change at my father's house. IX. My teaching a schoole at Holland: X. and after at Rainford. XI. My brother Henry's marriage, and convictions wrought upon myselfe. XII. My living with Col. Moore: XIII. in his company: XIV. and troop. XV. The sufferings of the countrey, and particularly my father's house, by Prince R.'s men. XVI. My straits and dangers. XVII. Many signal mercies.

Section i.

I being now perfectly well, and about fourteen yeares of age, my brother in Ireland sent over severall letters, desiring my father to send me to him to learne his trade. Diverse also of mine other neare relations were very importunate with him to take me off learning, and set me to somewhat that might be me a subsistance; alledging too many instances of such as made no advantage of their learning, though they had been brought up so long to it as to be fit for nothing
(a) else.

My father, overcome with their importunity, set me for a while to worke at his own calling,[1] to which I submitted, and framed well enough; but he guessed right which way my mind still went, and thinking it pittie I should lose all I had got, he frankely put it to my choice, whether I would go on as I did at present, or returne to
(b) schoole againe.

Section ii.

Unequally delt (as the proverbe is) is soone chosen.[2] I never stood considering the matter, but thankfully embracing his offer,

[1] It does not appear very clearly what this "calling" was, as Adam is intentionally obscure as to this "mystery." It is probable, however, from what follows, that he was a mason or carpenter.

[2] This proverb is not found in Ray or any other collection. Its meaning, however, is obvious, and it has a genuine Lancashire sound. "Delt" is an old word for "divided."

repaired to mine old master. But (alas !) here was now a sad change. He that used to take care of our soules, was become an enemie to his owne. He that was incomparably diligent, became a great drinker, and sadly neglected us. Then as for his humours and passions, which we counted his worst fault when they came upon him, though he was a sober man, they were now growne intollerably high and frequent. When he came into the schoole from one of his drinking (c) bouts, those that had rapt[1] and plaid all the time of his absence, and those that had followed their businesse, and were ready to give him a good account, were, in a manner, in the same predicament. In a word, innocence and dilligence would not secure us from his fury. Nay, I have known him pick a quarrell with his choisest scholars, so as they could not please him with giving an account of such a little word as *et* or *que* (though as able as himselfe to doe it), and if they escaped with his displeasure, and disgracing in the schoole, without punishment, it was as well as like.[2] Though he ordinarily writ a good hand, he would sometimes of purpose soe scrawl over the English given us to be made into Latine, that we could scarce by any meanes make a shift to read it, nor durst ask him to doe it for us. In fine, he was growne both so negligent and capricious, that there was no abiding with him.

Section iii.

In the interim, there was a new schoolemaster come to the old footing-place at Rainford[3] that had the name of a very civill man, and a good teacher; and that not without cause. I confesse as to great eminence of naturall parts, and diligence in looking to our soules,

[1] Rapt — romped and fought.

[2] As well as like — a vulgar Lancashire phrase for, as much as could be expected.

[3] It is difficult to see the meaning of this phrase. "Footing-money," in Lancashire language, means "entrance-money." It may probably mean that this was not an endowed school, but one founded and supported by the entrance of a sufficient number of names for its encouragement by the neighbouring farmers. Rainford, about three miles from St. Helen's, in the Parish of Prescot, has for ages been noted for the making of tobacco pipes, of which there are now sixteen manufactories, producing an annual profit of about £4,000 to the village.

I thought him a deale inferiour to his predecessor in that place, while
(d) he staid there; and it was no small prejudice to me, that the popish gentrie in the neighbourhood were so fond of him; yet I beleeve he was, and still is, (if alive,) a protestant, and it was onely his being a great antipuritan, (which that place never had before,[1]) that probably was the reason they so highly valued him. Whatever was his opinion, he was an eminently able and diligent master. He had beene brought up, not onely at a good schoole in Bolton, but after at the University a good season, (I have heard five yeares,) where having a great affection to the Greeke tongue, an opportunity to heare the public professor, and to converse with other men, he had attained to a marvellouse exactnesse in pronouncing it in the University-manner, which till then I had not heard of.[2] He was also skillfull in the derivations of words, teaching us many that we could not find in any

[1] "Which that place never had before." This shows in a very striking manner how the seeds of these opinions had been gradually sowing, by means of these "footing" schools, throughout that district of the country.

[2] The "University-manner." This probably refers to the controversy which had taken place in the University of Cambridge about a century before, between the celebrated Sir John Cheke, the first Regius Professor of Greek in that University, and the still more celebrated Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, then Chancellor of the University. The whole may be found in the Life of Cheke, by Strype. In page 14 he gives the old method of reading Greek, and adds the Chancellor's somewhat (for him) characteristic decision of the controversy; "that none should philosophise at all in sounds, but all use the present. And that if any thing were to be corrected in them, let it be done by authority." The dispute was conducted on both sides with much learning, and excited an interest at the time second only to that of the great Reformation itself. See *Baker's Reflections upon Learning*, (ed. 1714, 8vo.), p. 32. The curious and able letters which passed between Cheke and Gardiner on this question were first published by Cœl. Sec. Curio in 1555, 8vo., and are included in Havercamp's Sylloge altera Scriptorum qui de Linguæ Græcæ vera atque recta pronuntiatione Commentaria reliquerunt.—*Lugd. Bat.* 1740, 8vo. page 181.

Cheke tried his hand, also, at the reformation of the English language; but, like the still greater critic, Bentley, he was found weakest on his native soil. His proposed alterations in English spelling may be found in Strype's Life of him, p. 160. Edit. 1821. He also translated the Gospel of St. Matthew into what he thought simply Saxon-English, of which a very sufficient specimen may be found in the same place. His alterations in English Orthography did not survive him. Indeed he soon ceased to adhere to most of them himself.

lexicon. Nor was he sleight in examining us about the Dialects, not onely in Poets, but even in the Greek Testament; wherin he made us to observe the Hebraismes, Latinismes, and Idiomes. I heard once a confident scholar say, the Greeke Testament is perfectly free and cleare from all Dialects; but it is a great mistake, as our master would have told him, and is plaine in the best edition of Pasor.[1] (e)

He taught us also to make Greeke exercises, in prose and verse; and both in these, and what we made in Latine, he expected not onely congruity but elegancie. He spake very good Latine to us in a constant way; put us to take out our lessons our selves, and, in examining them, he stood not so much upon parsing, (as they called it,) or scanning of verses and proving them, to which he found us well enured, as upon rhetorical tropes and figures: to fit us whereunto, he removed us out of Talæus into Farnaby;[2] laughing at Susenbrotus as an old dull piece, which calleth tropes as well as schemes by the name of figures.

He was also very notable at teaching us to observe all allusions in profane authours to the Sacred Scriptures, insomuch that anything leaning that way should hardly passe his observation. I remember very well when we were upon the story of Deucaleon's floud, in Ovid's Metamorphosis, he tooke notice of those words, "*Ubi nuper Ararat*," as thinking it a strange allusion (whether intended or accidentall) to the mountain of Ararat, upon which Noah's Ark rested. To conclude, he seemed to be a man made for a Schoolemaster, and was most excellent to give the finishing stroak to a countrey-scholar.

Section iv.

He also removed to St. Helens, and was the onely schoolemaster that within the time of my observation went away thence a sober (f) man. I followed him thither, and remained his scholar betwixt two

[1] The person here referred to is George Pasor, a German; who was the author of "Syllabus, sive idea omnium N. Testamenti dictionum seu dialectarum."

[2] Thomas Farnaby, a learned English Grammarian, author, amongst other works, of "Index Rhetoricus Scholiis et Institutioni tenerioris ætatis accomodatus," Lond. 1625.

and three yeares, in which time he tooke a great deale of paines with me, especially in Homer's Odysses. And about the beginning of July, 1639, being above sixteene yeares of age, I tooke my solemne leave of him, and my schoole-fellowes, being allowed by him as readie for the University.

Section v.

But the worst was, the University was not so readie for me; warres being coming on, that soone after turned Oxford (whither I was designed) into a garrison, and many scholars into souldiers. It is true, things were not then come to such an height, but working fast that way. The Scots had invaded England, and entered Newcastle, and though a pacification followed, that seemed onelie to remove the seate of warre into our owne quarters; great animosities were set on foote concerning monopolies and ship money. Great ministers of state, such as the Lord Lievtenant of Ireland, Lord Keeper Finch,
(g) and Secretary Windebanke, almost every where publickly complained of; Archbishop Laud and severall Bishops and their chaplaines taxed with innovations: licensing Popish and Socinian bookes, and persecuting many godly ministers to deprivation itselfe. The censures also and deep sufferings of Prynne, Bastwick, Burton,[1]

[1] It is quite unnecessary to encumber the notes to a biographical work like this with any explanation of events and persons so well known to general history as those alluded to in this Section. The whole may be found in Clarendon, or any other authentic history of these distracted times. But it is well worthy of remark how early and how deep an impression they seem to have made on the popular mind, even in remote places like this portion of Lancashire, where one might have expected that such events would have passed over without much interest to the obscure and ignorant inhabitants. But the religious feelings of the people had been stirred to their very depths. The pulpit performed the work of the newspaper press; and as deep an interest seems to have been taken by all classes in the political events of the period, as is ever exhibited in any of the most exciting occurrences of the present day. The following extract from Vicars' "God in the Mount," one of the bitterest puritanical publications of that time, illustrating all the points here referred to in a very remarkable manner, and showing what *some* thought of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, and *how* they were punished for their thoughts, will probably amuse the reader:—

"On the 20th of June, 1643, one Mistris *Haughton*, wife to Master *William*

Layton, Lilbourne, and others, were much ventilated; some saying those Boutefeus[1] deserved more than they had; others, that they were honest men, and used barbarously. Shortly it was generally thought, that if a Parliament did not heale us, we should breake all to pieces; as accordingly it proved.

Section vi.

In this intervall, Mr. Shevington,[2] of the Boothes, in Eccles parish,

Haughton, of *Prickmarsh* [?] within the parish of *Kirkham* in *Le field* [the Filde] in *Lancashier*, was delivered of a childe still-borne, which had no head, but yet having two eares, two eyes, and a mouth in the brest of it, the hands turning backwards to the elbowes, with a cleft down the back, so as it was not discernable whether it were male or female. After this childe had been buried two or three days, the Mid-wife reporting its monstrous shape, and not being credited, it was taken out of the grave and re-viewed, and was found to be as already described, onely a bundle of clouts was taken up with it, which the parents had in proportion of a head caused to be fitted unto it. The *parents* of this monster are (as their parents and predecessors were) notorious *Papists*, impudently abusive towards *Protestants*, cursing and calling them by the name of *Roundheads*. But that which is most memorable herein, and clearly demonstrates this *prodigious-birth* to be a direct judgement of the Lord for desperate *malignancie* against the Lord's choice ones, is this: That the *Grand-mother* of this *monster* is shee (whom Master *Prinne* to her indelible and perpetual infamy hath already set forth in print in his famous history of that pair-royall of *Heroic Saints* and *Sufferers*, Doctor *Bastwick*, Master *Burton*, and Master *Prynne*) who out of inveterate Malignity against, and in devillish derision of those three foresaid pious worthies, called three Catts which she had by the names of those three precious Christians, and cut off the eares of those her three Catts, both in desperate disdain of their glorious sufferings, and thereby also seeming jollily to re-act that more than Turkish Tragedie. Things being thus evident, let not now the *fellow-factors* of such foule abuses, close up their spirits against the workings of such demonstrative convictions, least they also become fellow-feelers of the like exemplarie just-corrections."—*Jehovah-Jireh. God in the Mount*, vol. i. pp. 430, 431. Ann. 1644.

[1] What would now be called Agitators.

[2] Francis Shevington (or Sherington as he is styled in Ormerod's edition of the Tracts relating to the Military Proceedings in Lancashire during the Great Civil War) was appointed a Collector of Subsidy at Preston on the 10th Dec. 1642; and a Francis Shevington, of Booth Hall, in Worsley, occurs in 1685, as owner of an estate in Tildesley.—See *Civil War Tracts*, pp. 67 and 352. This slight sketch of probably a successful Manchester Merchant (for he suddenly starts up, and as suddenly disappears from the scene) is very spirited.

sent for me to teach his children, and to read prayers in his family, and this was either all, (or the maine substance of all,) that I undertooke; but afterwards he put such varietie of businesse upon me, and involved me in such trusts about his housekeeping, (which was full and noble, but such as he would have an account of, to a pecke of corne or meale,) that sometimes I have not gone to my naked[1] bed
(h) for a week together. Besides, he was very high and tyrannicall in his carriage towards me. Many a time hath he chidden me severely for not doing such worke as he required of me, (as perhaps copying over a lease into a great booke, or his letters to his factor at Burdeux,) within a time limited, when he himselfe, by employing me about other businesse, had made it impossible; and were I never so innocent, I must not answere for myselfe, for if I did, he would presently hit me on the teeth with this, that servants must not answere againe;
(i) urging that text Titus ii. 9, in the most rigid sence, so as to make it inconsistent with common justice, and Job xxxi. 13.[2] His sonnes also which I taught, (especially the elder,) gave me great occasion for exercise of patience, for they were just like him; and so encouraged by their parents and flattering servants, that I would almost as soone have led beares, as take the charge of such ungovernable creatures; and yet it was expected at mine hands they should profit highly.

Section vii.

Yet considering the sadnesse of the times, (for wars were coming on visibly very fast,) and that I had a meane subsistence, and protection from bearing armes, and withall that I was too young, and looked too boyishly to undertake a schoole, I endured all this and much
(j) more, till I was sente away forcibly from his service in this manner.

Manchester, within six miles of us, was garrisoned for the Parliament; against this, my Lord Strange, who, by the death of his father at that time, became Earle of Derby, comes with an army, besiegeth and assaults it but goes away without taking of it. Whereupon that party range about at their pleasure, and garrison

[1] That is, he has not undressed himself.

[2] Mr. Shevington seems to have been a better match for Martindale in Discipline than in Divinity.

Bolton within four miles of us. This caused my master to fortify his house; but hearing that the like project had failed Mr. Ashton, of Chaderton,[1] he went with all speed to Wigan, a garrison for the king; breakes up house-keeping, disposeth of his sons as he could, payeth off all his servants that he had no occasion to employ further, and me amongst the rest.

Section viii.

It was in the Christmasse time that I was dismissed, in that fatall yeare, 1641. Going home to my father, he received me kindly; but things were now wofully altered for the worse from what I had formerly knowne them. My sister was married to a noted royallist, and, going to live about two miles from Lathom, which the parliament's forces accounted their enemies' head quarters, they were sadly plundered by those forces passing the road wherein they dwelt. The great trade that my father and two of my brethren had long driven, was quite dead; for who would either build or repaire an house when he could not sleepe a night in it with quiet and safetie? My brother (k) Henry, who was then about twenty-four yeares of age, knew not where to hide his head, for my Lord of Derby's officers had taken up a custom of summoning such as he and many older persons, upon paine of death, to appeare at generall musters, and thence to force them away with such weapons as they had, if they were but pitchforks, to

[1] Edmund Ashton, Esq. He married Dorothy, daughter of Robert Dukinfield, of Dukinfield, Esq. His grandson, William Ashton, sold his ancient patrimonial estate to Mr. Joshua Horton. Mr. Ashton was very severe, as a Justice of Peace, in enforcing the penal laws against the Royalists, and especially the Clergy. In 1650 his vigorous prosecution of the Incumbent of Oldham for refusing to take the Engagement, led that individual to resign his Living.

It may be as well in this place to refer the reader, once for all, to Mr. Ormerod's volume, published by the Chetham Society, on the Civil Wars, for a full explanation of the events, and names of persons and places, alluded to in this and the following sections. To explain them all in this merely popular book, to the main object of which they are only incidental, would simply have the effect of interrupting the course of the narrative; while those who wish to *study* the subject will find all the authentic materials at once at hand by turning to the admirably edited work just referred to.

Bolton; the reare being brought up with troopers, that had commission to shoot such as lagged behind, so as the poor countrey-men seemed to be in a dilemma of death, either by the troopers if they went not on, or by the great and small shot out of the towne if they did.[1]

This hard usage of the countrey to no purpose (for what could poor cudgeliers doe against a fortified place?) much weakened the interest of the royalists, (called the cavaliers,) and many yeomen's sonnes, whereof my brother Henry was one, went to shelter themselves in Bolton, and tooke up armes there.

As for my brother Thomas, he had some yeares before furnished himself with a good round summe of money by leasing out his lands in Hardshull to one John Thirlewind, for three lives, and being in a high way of getting money, he was very desirous to take the halfe of my father's tenement at a yearely rent, that he might build up the westerne end of the house as my father had done the easterne, (as he after did in too stately a manner for an ordinary estate,) and make some other improvements by planting and the like. My father, who always favored him but too much, finding himselfe growne into yeares (about sixty) and most of his children disposed of, or in a way to live of themselves, gratifying therein, and that there might be no mistakes nor back reckonings betweene them, (though he thought he could
(1) have made a deale more of that moyetie as he had improved it,) enters into articles with my brother, and lets it him for the cleare yearely rent of ten pounds, my brother being to pay the half of the lord's rent, and all other charges imposed upon the whole messuage. This bargaine was prettie well performed by my brother, till the warres came on. But, then, he having a great charge of children,

[1] This is a melancholy, but no doubt as accurate as it is a graphic picture of the condition of the poor "freeholders" of this part of Lancashire at that period. It was doubtless harsh and unfeeling conduct like this which disgusted many, whose love of quiet exceeded their zeal for loyalty, with the royal cause; and threw Adam and his friends ultimately, out of sheer self-defence, into the hands of a party, which they had no original intention of joining, but to which they were at first reconciled by its constant declarations of loyalty combined with greater professions of religious purity, and certainly greater strictness of life. Once in the vortex, there was nothing left but to rush along with the torrent.

and no trading,[1] commodities raised from estates being low, and taxes upon them very high, (insomuch that the committee made order for the abating of the fourth-part of rack-rents,) he expected such defalcations as my father was not willing to allow, but a motion being started, that to prevent all further disputes, my father should sell my brother that ten pounds a yeare clearely for his life; in consideration of a summe in hand, the bargaine was concluded. What that summe was, I never knew, but I beleeve it was little enough, else I suppose I should have heard of it more distinctly. But however that was, I found my father when I returned to him under another fresh losse, occasioned (in all probability) by this admission of my brother to come to the tenement; for my father, having a supernumerary stock of cattle, above what the halfe-tenement which he still held would keep; and having no great occasion for present money, my brother-in-law, William Hey, drives a bargaine between him and two neighbours of his, Mrs. Long, widow of the famous Dr. Long, of Burscow Hall,[2] and her oldest sonne, who bought the cattell, coming

[1] One of the disastrous effects of the great Rebellion was the misery which it brought upon individuals, and the great interruption, if not absolute stoppage, which it gave to trade. All confidence being at an end, tradesmen withdrew their capital, and ceased to employ the people about them. This state of things is very feelingly set forth in the Petition of the County of York to the King at York, dated 3d June, 1642, wherein the Petitioners deplore "the great decay of all commerces and industrious courses for the wealth and prosperity of the country, specially of *Clothiers*, which is the main substance of this *County*, and is * * * suddenly obstructed, insomuch that many thousand Families, who are of, and have their livelihood by, the trade of Cloathing, are at the point of utter undoing — it being too true that verie manie, in these and other partes of the Kingdome do wholly withdrawe themselves from their former commerce and dealinge; others, both Merchants and Chapmen, doe now generally refuse to make payment for goods long since sould and delivered, aleadging that others refuse to pay them for anie commoditie formerly sould." *Printed at Yorke*, 1642.

[2] Dr. Long, then so "famous," seems now forgotten. Burscow is a township of the Parish of Ormskirk, in the County of Lancaster, (in which Parish the celebrated house of Lathom is situated,) once noted for its Priory, which was founded by an ancestor of the house of Lathom. Leland says of it—"*Burscow* of Blake Chanons of the Fundation of the Erles of *Darby*, a mile from *Latham*. It standith not very far from Duggils. Many of the Line of the Erles of *Darby* lyith there." For an account of it see Baines's *History of Lancashire*, vol. iv. p. 256.

to a good considerable summe, giving him their owne bond, and afterward brought in a neighbour to be bound as a suretie, concerning whom a neighbour, which my father trusted, (one H. S. of Bickersteth[1]) gave a good character for sufficiencie. But the issue was, that
(m) the mother being sequestered as a papist, the sonne proving desperately untoward, and going out of the countrey, and the suretie scarcely worth a groat, my father (for ought I could ever heare, though I was inquisitive about it,[2] and once much concerned in it, being to have the most of it if I could have got it) utterly lost all his money, to a pennie, and a great deal of law-charges besides.

Section ix.

Now I was in a great strait how to dispose of myselfe; I abhorred to live idly and burden my father, and besides I could noe more be safe there then my brother Henry, for being above eighteen yeares old (whereas sixteen would have brought me in) I was as liable to the danger of dancing attendance at the Generall Musters, and thence to Bolton, as he. To avoid both these inconveniences if possible, (though I was still rather too young,) I enquired after a schoole. St. Hellens was then newly disposed of, but Holland[3] and Rainforth were both
(n) vacant. I tooke Holland, for the liker[4] place, there being a prettie church-towne, and a great number of free-holders and considerable yeomen in the neighbourhood. But I was there subject to so many great inconveniences: I. By the discouragements that many lay under to send their children in those dayes of constant alarmes: II. By the uncomfortable[ness] of my habitation in a publick house,

[1] Bickersteth, or Bickerstaffe, is another township in the same parish. The Hall, and greater part of the township, belong to the present Earl of Derby, who, when Lord Stanley, was created a peer of the realm by the stile and title of Baron Bickerstaffe, 30th December, 1832. The title has been once more revived this year (1844) in the person of the present Lord Stanley. See Baines, vol. iv. p. 245.

[2] No doubt!

[3] Holland, or Up-Holland, in contradistinction from Down-Holland, in the parish of Halsall, is a township in the parish of Wigan, in the neighbourhood here referred to. It was formerly a place of much more importance than it is at present. For an account of it see Baines, vol. iii. p. 558, &c.

[4] Lanc. for *likelier*.

to which many papists and drunkards did frequently resort: III. By the disturbance given us by the soldiers often quartering among us, to the depriving us of our beds and chambers: IV. By the suspicion I lay under of being a round-head, (that is, one for the Parliament,) because my brother was gone to Bolton, and my father plundered upon it, and I could not cleare myselfe from it by swearing and debaucherie but would have beene quiet and meddled on no side; (for these reasons I say) I left the place when I had beene there not much above a quarter of a yeare.

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Rainford being still open for me, I removed thither, having the promise of some substantiall inhabitants, that they would send me their children upon the usuall rates that my predecessors had, and also find me my dyet by turns, as was customary also there. The first they performed well, and I had a prettie full schoole; the second (o) they never offered to doe, but suffered me to depend upon my father for it, whose house had beene so ransacked and stripped by rude souldiers, that he had scarce necessary goods left him for the plainest sort of housekeeping. Besides, I had great disturbance given me by severall papists aboute me, and by a pragmaticall constable, animated (as I thought) by them, who, notwithstanding that the parliament forces had so prevailed as to take Wigan and Warrington, Preston, and diverse lesse considerable places, still warned me to musters; and though I excused my self as a piece of a clergy-man, and kept away, (p) I could not tell how it would go with me, if I should be surprized and carried to Lathom, counted then an impregnable place, where they did what they pleased within themselves.

Section xi.

But among all these troubles, I mett with two cordials helping to (q) supporte my spirit: 1. The marriage of my brother Henry to an holy young woman of pious parentage, with whom he lived comfortably at a new brick-house, which he built near Warrington thriving fast in goodnesse and his outward estate to his very death. She was after

twice married, and lives with her third husband now, in Manchester. 2. A Sermon that I heard at St. Helen's, preached by Mr. Smith[1] the minister there. He was under no great account for his abilities, but pious and serious, and in that sermon he did so lay forth the desperatenesse and damnablenesse of a naturall estate, without conversion, (which before that time I had little minded,) that I was
(r) rouzed to purpose, and this proved like a sharp needle, drawing after a silken thread of comfort in due season, so as if I may, without presumption, lay claime to a worke of grace, (as I humbly hope,) he was the chiefe instrument under God, and accordingly I honored him as my spirituall father to his death.

This mercie befell me as I was following my schoole-work diligently at Rainford, and writing a booke of arithmetick for whole
(s) numbers and fractions, in the old method of Record,[2] Hill,[3] Baker,[4] &c., (for then I knew nothing of decimals, logarithms, or algebra,) but somewhat more contractedly, with an appendix of mine owne invention, touching extracting the roots of fractions. What became of that manuscript, I do not now remember, but probably it was left at Leverpoole with the rest of my bookes.

Section xii.

Now being wearied out at Rainford by the inconveniences before mentioned, and being at the same time sent to by Col. Moore,[5] (who was then newly come from London to garrison Leverpoole, and to raise a regiment of foote with a troop of horse,) to live with him, as his clearke; I accepted the motion, and he carried towards me prettie

[1] I can find no record of this Mr. Smith, whose preaching produced so great effect on Adam's mind, and had such an influence on his future history.

[2] Robert Record, author of "The Ground of Arts, teaching the perfect work and practice of Arithmeticke, both in whole Numbers and Fractions," &c.

[3] Thomas Hill, author of "The Arte of Vulgar Arithmeticke, both in Integers and Fractions," &c.

[4] Humfray Baker, author of "The Well-spring of Sciences, which teacheth the perfecte Worke and Practice of Arithmeticke, both in whole Numbers and Fractions."

[5] Of Col. Moore, M.P. for Liverpool, and his defence of Liverpool against Prince Rupert, an account may be found in the *Civil War Tracts*, p. 199.

civilly, and in regard he was the onely justice of peace in that part of the county besides his military employment, I got money under him so as might well have satisfied me. But his family was such an hell upon earth, as was utterly intollerable.[1] There was such a packe of arrant thieves, and they so artificiall[2] at their trade, that it was (t) scarce possible to save anything out of their hands, except what I could carrie about with me, or lodge in some other house. Those that were not thieves (if there were any such) were generally (if not universally) desperately profane and bitter scoffers at pietie, and these headed by one that had a mighty influence over the colonell, and was (I never knew why) become mine implacable enemy.

Section xiii.

I was therefore well content to come downe a peg lower, accepting of the chief clarke's place in the foot regiment, which place (though (u) belowe the other for profit and credit) gave me better content; for now I lived in peace, and enjoyed sweet communion with the religious officers of the company, which used to meet every night at one anothers' quarters, by turnes, to read scriptures, to confer of good things, and to pray together. My worke also was easie enough, and such as gave me time for my studies, being onely to keep a list of the officers' and souldiers' names, and to call them upon occasion. Nor was I to carrie either musquet, pike, halbert, or any other weapon, onelie for fashion sake I wore a sword, as even ministers in those dayes ordinarily did.

Section xiv.

But in this condition I remained not long, for the quarter-master of the troop being no scholar, would needs have me into it, to assist him in making tickets, though under the name and notion of clark of the troop, to whose office, in strictnesse, it belonged not. But that worke was not great; and the rest of my employment was much-

[1] There seems to have been but little choice, in point of morality, between Royalist and Roundhead.

[2] Artificial—skilful.

what the same with that in the company.[1] I was not by my office either to weare armour, or buffe-cote; to stand upon guard, or to ride out as a scout. And accordingly I was not furnished with a charging-horse, warre-saddle, pistols, holsters, or carabine, but onely with a little hackney, and an ordinary saddle and bridle to ride along
(v) with the rest; and here also I had the comfort and benefit of some devout persons' company. After some time, Mr. Thompson, the chaplaine of the regiment, was sent to us, to tender to us the Covenant,[2] and to satisfie any that should make scruple, which he did so effectually, that I think not one refused it.

Section xv.

In this easie employment of clark of the troop and deputie quartermaster, I continued till the taking of Leverpoole by Prince Rupert;[3] in which space of time, the garrison at Lathom making some sallies out in the night, did such exploits as the colonells for the parliament tooke for unsufferable affronts, and laid siege to it. This was instrumentall to bring an old house upon our heads: for the prince
(w) going to raise the siege at Yorke, (where he received a great overthrow,) the Earl of Derby brought him through Lancashire, where his army, after two smart repulses, tooke Bolton by storm, (the workes having beene sleighted, and in very bad order,) putting about one thousand eight hundred to the sword.[4] Then spreading themselves up and downe the countrey, made wofull worke wherever

[1] Much-what the same—a vulgar phrase still in use in Lancashire, and perhaps in other places, among that class of persons to whom Martindale originally belonged. It is worthy of remark, notwithstanding his future habits of good society, and his remarkable command over pure English, that he never shook off the phraseology of his early days. This gives a peculiar raciness, and often great force to his language, especially to a Lancashire ear.

[2] For an account of this Covenant "between the two houses of Parliament and the Assembly of the Scotch Kirk and a Convention of the Estates," the terms of it, and the object which it had in view, see Clarendon's History, Book vii., latter part, or any other authentic History of England.

[3] This occurred on the 26th of June, 1644. See *Civil War Tracts*, p. 199.

[4] See an account of this storming in *Civil War Tracts*, pp. 188—198, where the accounts of the numbers killed, which differ considerably, are compared.

they came. My brother Henry was so lately married, that he easily secured those few goods he had, together with himself and his wife, in the garrison at Warrington. My brother Thomas secured himself and some choice goods there also, but the rest, together with his poore wife and children, were at the mercie of his enemies, who were so severe that they scarcely left his family any thing in the world to subsist on. But his great stocke of cattell were seized upon by a great papist in the neighbourhood, intentionally for his owne use, but eventually for my brother. But (x) my poore father sped much worse, for they tooke the old man prisoner, and used him most barbarously, forcing him to march in his (y) stockings, without shoes, and snapping his eares with their firelocke-pistolls. His house they plundered of every thing they thought worth carrying away, in cartes which they brought to his doore to that purpase, and were sore troubled (Good men !) that the walls being stone, and the roof well shot over within, they could fasten no fire upon the house, though they severall times essayed so to doe. His stock of cattell they wholly drove away, and he never had an hoofe againe, amongst which was an excellent colt, almost readie for service, which, in regard of its high mettall and curious shapes, resembling its damme, which was a gallant mare, he valued an high rate. This, being exceeding hard to be taken, they were resolved to shoot, (out of perfect malice to him,) but at last, with difficultie, they catched (z) her, and away she went with the rest.

Section xvi.

Not long before this, when no such danger appeared as yet, there was a designe set on foote by one Mr. Jerome, who preached at Sephton,[1] for the setting-up of a free schoole there ; and I being very weary of vagarying about with souldiers, and desirous to be in mine owne element againe, prevailed with him (who knew me well at (aa)

[1] Sephton, or Sefton, is a Parish adjoining Liverpool, principally the property of the Earl of Sefton. See Baines's *History of Lancashire*, vol. iv. p. 200, &c. ; from which it appears that, at the time it was written, there was no place of worship for the denomination to which Mr. Jerome belonged.

Rainford, and the character I was under there) to nominate me for schoole-master, as accordingly he did. But blustering times coming on apace, that designe wholly broke, and by that meanes I was still with the troope, when the countrey was in the condition I even now mentioned. We were sent for to Leverpool with all speed, and nothing but need, for we were in extreme danger to be surprised. Our captaine was run away to the prince's party, (and no doubt would have thought it meritorious to betray us,) an army was just at hand to lay close siege to our garrison. The seige at Lathom being raised, the Lathomers ranged up and downe at pleasure, and the sea-coast parishes assigned for our quarters almost wholly papists, especially as to the gentry.[1] For mine owne part, I was in as great dangers and straits as any single man could likely fall into; but because God was graciously pleased both to protect and support me I shall, in the conclusion of this chapter, give them you under the heads of deliverances, as they
(bb) deserve well to be called, especially some of them.

Section xvii.

The first, and that a most signall one, was this. We being riding in a full careere, and I being nimbly (though not strongly) horsed, in the very front, my beast, for all his nimblenesse, stumbled with that violence, that he pitched upon his forehead and threw his hinder parts over his fore parts, pitching me also upon my head so forcibly that it was a wonder that my neck was not broken. Those that followed, coming in a single file (because of the straitnesse of the passage) in their full speed, never a one of them saw me till they were just upon me, nor could stay his horse when he did see me; but every one (which were almost all the troop) bounced clearly over
(cc) my head, and not one set so much as one foot upon me. Methinks I can hardly be excused from niggardize in my returnes if I doe not acknowledge this to be two (if not many) deliverances in one.

[1] Matters, as to religion, still remain in these sea-coast parishes as when Martindale wrote. The whole of this description is very graphic, and evidently written, though after the lapse of many years, with a bitter impression of the miseries of that calamitous time.

2. When Leverpoole was surrendered upon terms of free-quarter, though prince Rupert's men, upon their first entrance, did (notwithstanding these termes) slay almost all they met with, to the number of three hundred and sixty, and, among others, diverse of their owne friends, and some artificers that never bore armes in their lives, yea, one poore blind man; yet the first that I met with offered me quarter before I asked.

3. Though I lost there, in a manner, all I had, viz: my mare, bookes, money, and clothes, and my relations were in such distresse as even now I declared, I was sufficiently provided for, and my spirit chearefully supported throughout a tedious imprisonment of about nine weeks, though I neither knew where I should be supplied for a weeke before hand, nor by what meanes I could expect deliverance. (dd)

4. When I was at last set at liberty, a free-schoole was vacant, and (as it were) waiting for me, in Over-Whitley,[1] in Cheshire, with which I closed when I lacked a few weekes of twenty-one yeares old; (ee) and this was a perfect manumission from the hated life I had lived about two yeares among souldiers; though mine office was all along to employ my penne, not my sword, and to spend inke, not spill blood. If any one thinke I should however have made some other shift, and not have come among them, — let him consider, 1. How young I was, viz. about nineteen yeares of age; 2. What straits I was in; 3. All the ministers in our neighbourhood, to a man, except onely two tippling boone companions, and all serious Christians generally declared themselves satisfied for the cause of that party among whom I sheltered myselfe, whose opinion and practice all those that thinke I should have sleighted them, must grant to be a strong temptation.[2]

[1] For an account of the little village of Over-Whitley see Ormerod's *History of Cheshire,* vol. i. p. 486.

[2] No doubt this is a true account of the state of public feeling on this great question that then prevailed in the district in which the scene is laid. Adam introduces this statement with something of an apologetic tone, as if after-experience had convinced him that some doubt might be thrown upon the propriety of his conduct. He indeed suffered severely throughout the whole course of his after-life for the step he had now taken.

SOME NOTES

ON THE FOREGOING CHAPTER.

([a]) People that make bad proof do not hurt themselves onely, but oft others also by discouraging such as would give them education.

([b]) It is a wise part in parents to consider their children's genius and inclination, and accordingly to employ them.

([c]) Debaucherie makes men's good parts uselesse, and heightens their faults so as oft to make them intolerable.

([d]) It is not good to be prejudiced against our lawful interest, but to make use of men so farre as may be a mercie to us though they be not every way to our mind.

([e]) As nature, which is God's ordinary power, doth not always produce males, though more perfect, but females also, which are as useful, so God in his wise providence doth not incline the hearts of all to arts and sciences, though these, as the knowledge of things, are more noble, but to skill in languages (which is but knowledge of words) because as usefull in its kind as the other.

([f]) People are apt to lay fault upon the places they live in, and indeed some are much fuller of temptation then others; yet a vertuous man assisted by God may live civilly any where.

The following is Calamy's account of the state of things at the same period, which, though allowance must of course be made for the political and religious bias of the writer, fully harmonises with the views here expressed by Martindale :—

"The great cause of the Parliament's strength and the King's ruin, was, that tho debauched rabble through the land, emboldened by his gentry, and seconded by the common soldiers of his army, took all that were called *Puritans* for their enemies. And though some of the king's gentry and superior officers behaved with civility, that was no security to the country, while the multitude did what they listed. So that if any one was noted for a strict and famous preacher, or for a man of piety, he was either plundered or abused, and in danger of his life. And if a man did but pray in his family, or repeat a sermon, or sing a psalm, they presently cried out, *Rebels*, *Roundheads*, *&c.*, and all their money and portable goods were proved guilty, however innocent they might be themselves. This filled the armies and garrisons of the parliament with sober, pious men. Thousands had no mind to meddle with the wars, but greatly desired to live peaceably at home, but the rage of soldiers and drunkards would not suffer them. Some stayed till they had been imprisoned; some till they had been twice or thrice plundered, and nothing left them. Some were quite tired out with the abuse of all that were quartered on them, and some by the insolence of their neighbours. But most were afraid of their lives; and sought refuge in the parliament's garrisons."—*Introduction to the Nonconformist's Memorial*, Sect. I.

([g]) All persons concerned should studiously avoid needlesse causing or taking offence against the government, for such distempered humors oft ferment so as to cause vehement concussions in a state.

([h]) It is good that youth have full employment, but not to leave it oppressed.

([i]) God hath laid downe rules by the light of nature, and particular scriptures, as well for superiours to observe as inferiours.

([j]) Tolerable inconveniences must not force us out of present station except there be some probability (all things considered) to amend our condition.

([k]) Sometimes it pleaseth Almighty God to lay siege as it were round about us by great varietie of straits to force us to fly unto him.

([l]) It is good in all our contracts, especially with neare relations, (amongst whom contests are more sad,) that all be clearly expressed so as to prevent all mistakes.

([m]) It is a base part (but too common) for men that are trusted by their friends to betray their trusts, especially in matters of weight.

([n]) If we regard onely some things though considerable, and take not in all circumstances, we shall oft make but a bad choice.

([o]) It is not always safe to depend upon things that looke likely; seemingly substantiall men sometimes falsify their words sadly.

([p]) It is a dangerous thing to fall into the hands of such as are tied to noe rule to act by but their own pleasure. Blessed be God then for it, that we in England live under a better governour, not such a tyrannicall one.

([q]) God in mercie mixeth joy with our sorrowes that we may not faint in our troubles.

([r]) Sound and deep conviction tends to solid consolation.

([s]) God ordinarily meetes people with unexpected mercies when diligent in their businesse. The angels appeared to the shepherds when they were watching over their flockes by night. Luke, ii. 8, 9.

([t]) We are oft much mistaken in judging of people's conditions, and envie such as deserve our pittie; some that seeme to swim in worldly enjoyments are so harassed with private grievances that they are weary of their very lives. Subjects see the glory but feele not the weight of their princes' crownes.

([u]) A lower place with peace and comfort is to be preferred before an higher with trouble and vexation.

([v]) When we doe not voluntarily step out of our way, but are put into a new one by the call of God's Providence, we may better expect the continuance of his former favours in such a measure as he sees convenient for us.

(w) The greatest statesmen have thought it advisable to give some vent to malecontents by connivance: had Latham beene only blocked up at a distance by small garrisons and forts at considerable passes (for which there were spare forces enough) and not closely besieged, perhaps that greate storme had not fallen upon Lancashire (especially Bolton and Leverpoole) by Prince Rupert's forces in their march to Yorke.

(x) God sometimes orders it, that what men designe for our ruine and their owne advantage proves quite contrary.

(y) Let us pray to be delivered from unreasonable men that want common humanity, as soldiers too oft doe.

(z) See the devilish reach of malice, that will spoile wilfully what it can make no use of.

(aa) We should earnestly desire and endeavour (with submission to God's will) to be in such a condition as may make us capable to doe God the most service.

(bb) As a woman forgets her sorrowes for joy that a man is borne into the world, so when our dangers and straits end well, all should be swallowed up in thankfullnesse.

(cc) Multiplied dangers can do them no hurt whom God protects. Distinguishing mercy can and sometimes doth rescue people out of the very jawes of death.

(dd) Meanes in sight may be spared, if God helpe us to looke at him who is invisible, by faith.

(ee) When God so times his mercies that they are given us when we greatly need them, and soe soon as we are capable of them, they are more then ordinarily sweet.

CHAPTER IV.

I. My comfortable beginning at Whitley schoole. II. A dangerous quarrell. III. My studying Hebrew and Logick. IV. Ethickes, Physickes and Metaphysickes. V. Manchester visited with the Plague, and my mother-in-law delivered. VI. My beginning to preach. VII. Call to Gorton. VIII. The troublesome state of things. IX. Mine owne circumstances adding thereto. X. The courses I tooke, and the rise of a little booke. XI. My marriage, and eldest daughter's birth and baptisme. XII. My departure from Gorton. XIII. An objection answered. XIV. Offers in Yorkshire prevented. XV. My call to Rotherston. XVI. Opposition. XVII. The place given to me. XVIII. Gifts to my predecessor's widow. XIX. Transactions with the Classis at Manchester; XX. and at London. XXI. Another little booke, and the birth of my son Thomas. XXII. Controversies about the Engagement: XXIII. taking of it: XXIV. trouble about it. XXV. The battell at Worcester, with my deliverance.

Section i.

Being got againe into my beloved calling, things went on with me pretty smoothly while I was master of a schoole newly founded by a neighbour, and the foundation of a schoole-house newly laid, which was built up in my time with my name over the doore.[1] The income (a) was not very great but well paid, and more at that time then now, the stocke bringing in after 8 per centum, and mine accidentall gettings (having a full schoole, and prettie store of rich men's sons in

[1] Martindale's caution about names here once more perplexes us. It appears, however, from the Report of the Charity Commissioners, that this school was founded by one William Eaton, and endowed with the interest of one hundred pounds. This, at "8 per centum," was something it is true, but what would it have been had the 3 per cents. been, as now, (1844,) at par! The Eatons were an old puritanical family in that neighbourhood, and some of them still remain. Calamy enumerates six of that name as ministers ejected by the Bartholomew Act. Two of them were situated in Lancashire and Cheshire, and one of them, Samuel, was the son of Mr. Richard Eaton, vicar of Great Budworth, in the latter county. I am informed by my friend the Rural Dean of the district, that Martindale's name no longer graces the door-way of the school at Over-Whitley, but that, as a chimney flue is now carried up where the old door was, it may have been there formerly.

it, and opportunities for earning moneys by making writings for neighbours,) were a good addition to my salary. As for my diet, that cost me very little, for provision was very cheap, and a friend that had three sons under my care delt very kindly with me for it. My scholars were (for all my youth) submissive and reverent in their carriage to me, and by God's blessing profited so well as to gaine me as much respect and interest in the neighbourhood as was good for me. But this sweet meat must have a little sower sauce, and so it had. A diminutive crosse here befell me, which might have proved a great affliction, but as God was pleased to order it as to the event, it shall go amongst the number of mine ordinary deliverances.

Section ii.

A giganticke fellow that by the favour of a colonell had beene a captaine of horse (though never fit to be a corporall) married a widow in the Lordship of Over-Whitley, whose children were indeed free, as daughter-in-law to the founder. But this would not satisfie him, I must either receive also and teach freely three children
(b) of his by a former wife (borne in another parish) or he would force me by club law, threatening most hideously how terribly he would bang me, making no question of the feasibleness by reason of the vast disproportion of our stature, and his resolution to get as great advantage of the weapon. Some interposed for peace betweene us, but to no purpose. Nothing would downe with him but do it I should, or he would pay me off soundly. I was unhappily infected either by the breed I came of, or by being among soldiers so long, with a martiall spirit, that I could not understand and answer such language to his satisfaction, but tooke mine owne way. Hereupon one Saturday as I came from the schoole, without any weapon save a short hand-sticke about a yard long, he met me in a private lane neare his owne house, and after some rhodomontado language (which I despised) he let fly at me with a long staffe. I being very nimble and strong for my pitch, apprehending at the first blush that my stick would be unserviceable if we kept our ground, ran in upon him, receiving his

blow upon my shoulder, where his staff lighting neare his hand did me no hurt at all; and I forthwith clasping mine armes about his middle threw him downe into a sandy ditch, where we wrestled, fought, and tug'd it out for near an houre together, sometimes one and sometimes the other being under, during which time a child about four yeares old carried away both our staves and laid them acrosse a prettie distance from us. When I had him at advantage I never offered to do him any considerable harme, but when he got any advantage of me he most maliciously attempted to rend my cheekes with his fingers and thumbs; but though he thrust them so warily within my lips onely that my teeth could doe me no service, especially he having a strong pair of gloves, and reiterated his attempts thicke and threefolde, it pleased God to enable me to loose his hold so quickely that I quite escaped that mischievous piece of (c) villanie, which, if it had succeeded, would certainely have put me to a great deale of smart and cost in the cure, and probably have disfigured my face sadly, if it had not also spoiled my speech, as the like did to a bailife that I knew, who (perhaps because of the stiffnesse of his cheekes) could scarce speake intelligibly afterwards.

But though I escaped this he was as good as his word; for two of his workemen in the next field were aware of us, and finding me upon such termes with their master as they little expected, pulled me off him, and held me while he fetched his staffe, and valiantly knockt me downe and broke my head most terribly; and that was not the greatest grievance to mee, for he also gave me so many bangs upon the armes, that when afterwards he commanded them to give me mine owne sticke, I could doe nothing with it, nor scarce hold it in my hand.

Yet (blessed be God) nothing was broke but the peace and my pate, which without any costs was speedily well againe. I was very sensible the law gave me advantage enough. I might have indicted him for a batterie, and all three for a riot, bound them all to their good behaviour, (having broken the peace,) and sued them in a great action for recompence; but I being perfectly well againe, and not in the leaste damaged in mine estate or reputation, took all such

(d) courses for pure revenge, and would make no use of them. Yea, though one of my brethren, who was a stout soldier, and one Captain Crosby, who was as tall as mine adversary, and much more strong and gallant, severally offered me their services, I would not suffer them to meddle with him upon mine account. And indeed if conscience had not interposed in the case, the intolerable shame that fell upon him was so great a punishment that it had beene pittie to have exacted any more.[1]

Section iii.

This gave but a short interruption to my studies, which (besides present profiting my scholars) was to improve myselfe for my worke. I had none neare fit for entering into Greeke, and I thought it wisdome, having got the start soe much of them, to keepe myselfe (e) soe farre before as none should tread upon my heeles. And because I thought it would not in an ordinary way be fit to put them when they came to that perfection out of the Greeke testament immediately into Homer (as I myselfe was) I had thought of exercising myselfe in such authors as were usually learned betweene them, such as Isocrates, Hesiod, Musœus, Theognis,[2] and others of the minor poets, and made a beginning of this worke, but on a sudden threw it aside upon this following occasion. A minister of Lancashire of my familiar acquaintance, earnestly represented to me the great want of ministers to supply the vast numbers of vacant places, and importuned me to turne my studies all that way, to fit myselfe in some

[1] Perhaps this is the last recorded history of the *duello* between Quarter-staff and Single-stick. It is a melancholy picture of the disordered state of the time; arising partly from the expiring exercise of brutal habits, and the additional ferocity engendered by the turbulence of the period. Though Adam is the historian of his own heroism, there is no reason to suspect that he has shown any personal partiality in his narrative. He exhibited, on this occasion, that combination of physical and moral *pluck*, which seems never to have deserted him throughout his stormy life.

[2] Theognis, a Greek Poet, or rather Moralist, was born about 550 years before Christ. His Sententiæ were usually printed along with Theocritus, Hesiod, Pythagoras, &c.

measure for the ministrie. I was much startled at a motion to a (f)
thing so farre above me, and excused myselfe by my youth, the
content I had, and the good I hoped to doe in my present station,
my utter insufficiency for want of University learning, and the
trouble I knew it would cause if I left that place. This did not
satisfie him; he urged the necessity that poore soules lay under, the
excellencie of the worke in being serviceable to them above that of
schooling children, for which many were fit whose parts lay not
towards the ministerie. And to the best of my remembrance (g)
(which my practice further confirms) he advised me to study the
Hebrew tongue and some logic, lending me Keckerman's[1] Systeme,
whose chiefe rules he wished me to write out for the imprinting of
them more firmely in my memory. I set upon the former with some
vigour, and my ambition being noe higher then to attaine to so much
skill as might enable me in an ordinary way to understand a text in
the old testament, by the assistance of such common helpes as were
easie to be procured for money, it held me no very long time. There
is a famous grammarian that calleth his booke Horologium,[2] pretending
to a method confirmed by experience, wherein boyes may be well-
grounded in the Hebrew grammar in twenty-four hours, but I
limited not myselfe to twenty-four dayes. My designe was rather to (h)
learn truly then fast, and to understand as I went on rather then to
fly beyond my judgement; yet for all that it held me not long.
But the other part of my task concerning logick, wherein I was
greedy of greater perfection if possible to be obtained, that I might

[1] One of the Systems of Bartholomew Keckerman, D.D. He was a native of Dantzic in Prussia, (born 1571, died 1609.) He was a favourite writer, at this period, of introductory Treatises and Systems. His systematizing embraced the Peripatetic Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric, Theology, Mathematics, Geometry, Optics, Astronomy, Geography, and Grammar! It was probably his Systema Theologiæ that was recommended by Adam's unknown friend.

[2] This "famous grammarian" was Schickardus, or Schikarnds, who published a work entitled "Horologium Hebræum, sive Consilium quomodo Sancta Lingua Spatio XXIV. Horarum, ab aliquot Collegiis sufficienter apprehendi queat." Of this book two editions were published in London, in 1639 (which was probably Martindale's) and 1675, 8vo.

be able to analyze a scripture artificially and dispute readily in mood
(i) and figure, proved tough upon me. I had no tutor but mine author, and I was not at all fond of him. He seemed to me to be a learned man, and his systeme very full, but I thought it too full, so as to runne over, having such swarmes of canons that might be contracted into a farre smaller number, and many superfluous ones, that for substance were comprehended in the definition of the thing to which they referred. But that which above all rendered him unwelcome to me was his endlesse traines of sub-divisions, whereby it came to passe that when I had got a little satisfaction concerning one member
(j) of a division, I must hunt over many leaves ere I could find the other. I was therefore resolved to change my master; but, for whom, was the next important question. Aristotle was not for the tooth of such a novice as I was, as those that question my diminutive judgement may be satisfied by the famous Hereboord,[1] in the preliminary discourses of his Meletemata. Ramus,[2] and the compendiums of Smith and Brerewood,[3] usually bound together, I soone ran thorow, but found them over-curt and maimed, leaving out many things that I thought very good in my old Keckerman, the first designedly, the other two by affected brevity. Brerewood's large piece put out by Mr. Sixsmith went but a little way, and did not at all teach that part of logicke that I most affected. Doctor Sanderson's[4]

[1] Few students of the last age but will sympathise with Martindale's lamentations over surplus rules, and endless sub-divisions. Adr. Hereboord, of Leyden, wrote Synopsis Logicæ Burgersdicanæ, and Meletemeta Philosophica. He died in 1659.

[2] Peter Ramus, the celebrated French Mathematician, was a determined opponent of the Aristotelian Dialectics. He was murdered in the massacre at Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572. Anthony Wotton published "Peter Ramus's Art of Logic into English," Lond. 1624, 8vo. The translation was written by his son, and the dedication by himself.

[3] Edward Brerewood, born at Chester 1575, died 1613. His short Compendium of Logic, published in 1614, and several times subsequently reprinted, was long an elementary work in use among students.

[4] Dr. John Sanderson's Artis logicæ Compendium was first published in Oxford, 1618.

learned piece, together with the writings of Hereboord and Derodon,[1] which I thinke are the best in the world, had not then (I thinke) made their appearance in it, at least I heard nothing of them. At (k) last, by meanes of a young Cambridge scholar, I was furnished with Burgersdicius,[2] of which I was very fond, and have kept to it ever since, because better inured to him then those learned men's workes which I mentioned even now.

Section iv.

As for Ethickes, I contented myselfe (because I thought scripture precepts would perfect them) with Eustachius[3] alone, who, though he was a great plagearie in stealing from Thomas Aquinas, that makes his booke never the worse but perhaps much better.

His physickes also I read but liked not, he followed Aristotle so close at the heeles in some of his grosse doctrine about the spheres, which now is generally exploded. I liked Bartholinus,[4] though briefe, much better, and Comenius[5] best of all, (Des Cartez was then little spoken of,) but I thought it not the worth while to be curious in this point of learning, being more proper for a physician then a divine. But I had a quite other opinion of metaphysickes, believing (as I still doe) that a man can never be a judicious divine indeed without them. But having none to instruct me I was much discouraged with the sublimity and difficulty of that study, and this was furthered with the bad choice of bookes that I had hit upon

[1] David Derodon, Professor at Nismes, published Logica Restituta, Genevæ, 1659, Compendium Logicæ, 1663.

[2] Francis Burgersdicius, author of Institutiones Logicæ.

[3] Francis Eustachius, who published a compendium of Ethics, and another of Physics. He was by no means singular in his thefts from the great Angelical Doctor, who was the store-house of the time.

[4] Caspar Bartholinus, an eminent Physician, who published Enchiridion Physicum, 1625, 8vo., which went through several editions. He was father to the celebrated Thomas Bartholinus.

[5] John Amos Comenius. Of this Patriarch of the Bohemian Church it is to be regretted that no good biography exists. The work referred to is undoubtedly his Physicæ ad Lumen divinum reformatæ Synopsis, of which an English Translation was published in 1651.

I knew not well how. Eustachius, Bartholinus, and Crakanthorpe[1] (by the reading whereof I was rather confounded then profited) were
(1) all I had, and they were brief obscure pieces (at least to me then) and desperately disagreeing one from another. In this strait I advised with some learned men, (but it had beene better to have done it sooner,) and they commended to me Jacchæus[2] for a compendium, and Suarez[3] for a full treatise. These I found plainer by much to mine apprehension; and for Suarez, saving his prolixity and his foppish paradoxes in favour of Transubstantiation and such popish monsters, I took him to be very excellent. In which opinion I was much confirmed by the judgement of that excellent scholar Mr. John Harrison of Ashton-under-Line,[4] who affirmed that in that booke were the grounds of all philosophy. Methinkes about the attributes of God scarce any man goes beyond him, but it was a good while after the other ere I met with him, which perhaps was a mercie, being then better able to deale with his errours, which at first might have proved more dangerous.

In these things (to be sure) whatever progress I made, very busie

[1] Richard Crakenthorp, a native of Westmorland, born 1567, died 1624. The work alluded to is his Introductio in Metaphysicam, Oxon. 1619. He was a very able and judicious divine. His Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Lond. 1625, 4to., is a work now in great request.

[2] Gilberti Jacchæi Institutiones Physicæ.

[3] Francis Suarez, a Spanish Jesuit, author of Disputationes Metaphysicæ, 2 vols. fol. 1605.

[4] Of Mr. John Harrison there is a full account in Calamy. His father was a gentleman of good account near Wigan—"an eminent professor of the puritan stamp"—as many others of his name and race have been since. Sir George Booth presented him to the Living of Ashton, which he resigned in 1662; and when Sir George, then Lord Delamere, offered it to his son, Mr. Harrison generously declined it on account of his son's supposed unfitness, and gave his interest to Mr. Ellison, a man "of great worth and a good preacher." It is said of Mr. Harrison, that he was an excellent preacher and scholar, and that "he constantly kneeled in prayer in the pulpit"—in which it appears he was *singular* among his party. He was appointed by the Presbyterian Classis in Manchester to answer some Episcopal pamphlets, which he did in a book entitled "Censures of the Church Revived," 4to. 1650. Of the merits of this book very favourable opinions are entertained. He died in 1669.

I was, having much other worke upon mine hands which faithfullnesse urged me to see to. And because the name of a mere countrey scholar[1] might be some prejudice to me, I was resolved, when I could get an opportunity, to enter my name in some colledge in Oxford or Cambridge, which in processe of time fell out so patly by meanes of a friend that had a mighty interest in the master of University colledge in Oxford, that (with very small charge to me) after some discourse betweene us he caused me to be admitted under-commoner in his colledge; and, without my asking, freely offered me that if I would come up and perform my exercises, I should be dispensed with as to time, and take my degrees.

Section v.

While these things were thus going on, Manchester was sadly visited by the pestilence in the yeare 1645.[2] I had no personal

[1] Though Martindale styles himself a mere "countrey scholar," yet one cannot look back upon this his vivid picture of self-discipline without feelings of the highest admiration. The crabbed old books which he read, were calculated, when thoroughly mastered, as they were by him, to prepare the mind to triumph with ease over any future difficulties that he might encounter. And one cannot but regret that country villages like Over-Whitley have no such masters *now;* nay, that there are probably few in the whole county of Chester, notwithstanding its march of intellect and its Diocesan Board, fitted like old Adam Martindale to lay the sound foundation and build up the firm superstructure of a useful and practical system of English and classical education.

[2] For an account of this pestilence see *Civil War Tracts,* pp. 213, 233, and Hibbert's *Hist. of Manchester,* vol. i. p. 228, where it is thus noticed:—"1645 a pestilence again visited Manchester; [it had been sorely afflicted in 1605;] and by an ordinance of Parliament, dated Dec. 9, 1645, it appears that it had raged with such violence, that for many months none had been permitted to come in or to go out of the town. Its effects had been so dreadful, that the ordinance says, 'Most of the inhabitants living upon trade, are not only ruined in their estates, but many families are like to perish for want, who cannot sufficiently be relieved by that miserably wasted country.' In relief of their distressed situation, a collection, by order of Parliament, was made for the poor of Manchester in all the churches and chapels of London and Westminster; the receipts of which were directed to be transmitted to Mr. John Hartley, of Manchester."

Of such a calamity as this, however, no more vivid picture can be presented to the mind than a tabular statement of deaths. Actual figures are, in this case,

concernement there nor relation that I knew of. But without my knowledge there were many good people in that towne and about it to whom not longe after I became related by marriage, and
(m) some of them were singular mercies to me and so are to this day. Among the rest there was one singular good woman, yet alive though very aged, (almost ninety yeares old,) whose daughter became my wife, whom I had never seene had she not beene delivered from death by a signall providence, which was thus, as I had it from her owne mouth.

A publick fast-day was held at Blackley-chappell on the behalfe of poore Manchester; the place of reception being very strait[1] for so great a congregation, this good woman and another, who was also a

more eloquent than any figures of speech; and from the following tabular statement of monthly and sometimes daily funerals, extracted from the Registers of the Collegiate Church at that time, the reader will have a clear conception of the duration of this calamity, and the virulence of its ravages: —

BURIALS.		
1644.	October	21
,,	November	38
,,	December	28
,,	January	18
,,	February	22
1645.	March	20
,,	April	24
,,	May	61
,,	June	135
,,	July	172
,,	August	310
,,	September	266
,,	October	112
,,	November	49
,,	December	23
,,	January	11
,,	February	28
1646.	March	14
,,	April	12
,,	May	5
,,	June	10
,,	July	8
,,	August	12
,,	September	6

NUMBER OF FUNERALS ON PARTICULAR DAYS.

1645.	August	9th	19 funerals.
,,	,,	22nd	20 funerals.
,,	,,	28th	18 funerals.
,,	Septem.	2nd	28 funerals.

Memorandum in Augt. — "There was no more Chrisenings in this month [there had been only one] by reason of the extremitie of the sicknesse."

Remark in Sept. — "The same reason is to bee given in respect of this month."

In October, this: — "The extremitie of the sickness was the cause why baptisme was altogeather deferred this whole moneth."

Bap. Nov. 11, 1645. — "Alice, daughter to James Bradshaw of Manchester, bap. att Chorlton in the sicknes tyme."

In the marriages for Septemberis this remark: — "There was not anie at all by reasonn of the sicknesse was soe greate."

[1] Though the population of Blackley is much increased of later years, yet the church accommodation is not so "strait" as it was then, as the Editor had the pleasure of attending the consecration of a chapel re-erected in that place, on the 29th Nov. 1844, which will hold 900 persons.

fashionable person, had but one seate betweene them, so they sometimes stood and sometimes sate in the same seate by turns, and at night the other woman died of the plague; which I have heard my (n) mother-in-law say never put her into any fright, but being satisfied she was in her way of duty she confidently cast herselfe upon God's protection, and was accordingly preserved.

Section vi.

When Manchester was so cleare that markets began to be kept there againe, the want of ministers was hereby something more heightened in Lancashire, because some places shut up that were now open, and calling for supply. Mr. Hollinworth[1] had indeede staid in

[1] Richard Hollinworth was one of the "Ministers of God's Word," in the Collegiate Church of Manchester, during the destruction, or rather the suspension of the Chapter, in the Great Rebellion. The Warden, Heyricke, was continued in his pulpit, though not in his rank, and Messrs. Hollinworth and Walker were his assistant ministers. Hollinworth died Nov. 11, 1656, and was succeeded in his office of "Minister," by the well-known Henry Newcome, who, on the Restoration, was driven by the Act of Uniformity to secede from the Church, and for whom the new (now Unitarian) chapel in Cross-street, Manchester, was afterwards erected. Hollinworth has been represented by Dr. Hibbert and others as having been Fellow of the Collegiate Church, but such was never the case. He was appointed into the place of Mr. Bourne, formerly Fellow, but it was at a time when the Chapter was suspended, and, according to the supposed law of that time, destroyed. Yet Hollinworth, with strange, though perhaps not unnatural inconsistency, struggled for his portion of the tythes and leases of the Chapter property, when his friends the Parliamentarians put an end to all such property, with more than all the zeal of the old and actual Fellows. That his title to a Fellowship was of no value appears from the following extract from the MS. Memoirs of Henry Newcome, now in the Editor's possession through the kindness of the Rev. Thomas Newcome, Rector of Shenley, his lineal descendant, from which it appears that Newcome, Hollinworth's successor in the "Ministry" of the Collegiate Church, was a candidate (though an unsuccessful one) for a Fellowship at the Restoration; and in the "Instructions," which his friend and patron Sir George Booth was desired to take with him when he went to intercede with the Crown on Newcome's behalf, occurs the following head:—

1. "That the Collegiate Church of Manchester, by the foundation, consists of a Warden and four Fellows. There is but one of the four surviveing, Mr. *Ri: Johnson*. Those dead are Mr. *Bourne*, Mr. *Boardman*, Mr. *Shaw*. Mr. *Hollinworth* was Fellow in the place of Mr. *Bourne*, formerly deceased, which is since

the towne all the plague time, but now that the great church was open, and Mr. Heyricke[1] much at London with the assembly of

dead also.— Mr. *Hollinworth* was taken for a Fellow according to the Statutes, but he was chosen in the wars, and Mr. *Johnson* doth seem to question his title : so y^t^ no great stress (especially in our Grant we desire) must be laid upon this, lest it beget any new scruples : only use may be made of it in the motion."

It did indeed prove of little use to Mr. Newcome ; for though he was quite willing to conform, and take the oaths provided by the College Statutes, and though he obtained, through the interest of Sir George Booth, a peremptory grant from the crown of the place and dignity of a Fellow, yet the Warden Heyricke, and the surviving Fellow Johnson, finding that the statutes of the College had not been destroyed, but only suspended, proceeded by the powers therein given them to fill up the vacant stalls, to the great disappointment, not only of the Crown, but also of poor Mr. Newcome, who had thus been seduced into the sacrifice of somewhat of his puritanical consistency, without gaining the object for which that sacrifice was made. No doubt, this mortification somewhat sharpened his zeal in protesting against the Act of Uniformity when it came. Yet Newcome was an excellent man. He was an eloquent and pious preacher. He succeeded Hollinworth as minister at Manchester on the recommendation of the celebrated Richard Baxter; and the journal which he has left behind him not only testifies to the excellency of his heart and the industry of his habits, but contains matter of much public interest with regard to the history of his times. It is hoped that the Chetham Society may hereafter present the most striking portions of it to the public.

To return to his predecessor Hollinworth : — His character was of a more mixed nature than that of his successor Newcome, and he had much more party bitterness in his disposition. He wrote a caustic and often very unfair biography of the Wardens, which, for want of a better, has had much more credit attached to it than it deserves. He wrote several controversial tracts on the questions between the Presbyterians and the Independents, and one, on which he seems to have prided himself, in answer to a priest who had interfered in a controversy between two of the fellows, Johnson and Bourne, on the subject of Original Sin. His little work entitled *Mancuniensis*, of which the MS. exists in the Chetham Library, which has furnished many hints towards the history of Manchester, was printed (though with many imperfections) by Willis in 1839. Hollinworth's father survived him for a short time ; for I find in Newcome's diary, under the date of 1657, the following entry : — " Dec: 5, [Saturday]. I preached at y^e^ funeral of old *Francis Hollinworth*, father to my Rev. Predecessor. He lived (as they said) to above 100." Hollinworth was one of the ministers named for " Tryers " in the time of the Commonwealth, and was imprisoned, just before his death, under suspicion of being concerned in the Presbyterian movement for which Love suffered.

[1] Of Richard Heyricke, Warden of Manchester during the stormy period before, through, and after the Great Rebellion, so full an account may be found in

Divines, more assistance was necessary for that vast congregation. Salford also and Gorton[1] must have their supplies. I was then advanced into my 23d yeare about 5 monthes, and soe within view of ordination age; for a day above 23 was then called 24 current, and allowed sufficient for matter of age, if other things concurred for admission of young scholars to ordination, and seven monthes was no extraordinary time for triall of a man's gifts by preaching and procuring a convenient place to be ordained to. In this juncture mine old friend, the minister before mentioned, meetes me upon a Wednesday

Dr. Hibbert's excellent history of the Collegiate Church, that I gladly refer the reader to that source of information, giving here but such a short outline as may be necessary for understanding the allusions to him in this work. He was second son of Sir William Heyricke, of Beau Manor, in the county of Leicester, B.D., and Fellow of All Souls College in Oxford. He was born the 9th Sept. 1600, and was made Warden of Manchester, it is said for pecuniary services rendered by his family to the crown, in 1635. He was one of the Assembly of Divines in London, Moderator of the first, or Manchester Presbyterian Classis, and took an active and leading part in all the political and religious movements of the time. He was a man of great dignity and courtesy of manner, ready with his pen and fluent in his tongue — zealous and ardent — firm in what he considered essentials, careless about points which appeared to him indifferent. His consistency in changing with the times has been earnestly, and with some success, maintained by Dr. Hibbert. He seems to have been a genuine Church-of-England Puritan; somewhat, indeed very, lax on the subject of Episcopal order, but firmly attached to the Prayer-book, and inflexible in his loyalty to the throne. Popery, in all its shapes, was to him an utter abomination. His denunciations against it, consisting of some learning and much somewhat vague declamation, would now astonish the sober walls of the Collegiate Church. He died the 6th August, 1667, and is buried in the Collegiate Church, where a monument, bearing his arms and a long eulogistic Latin inscription, has been erected to his memory. His will, which is dated May 6, 1661, is written in a singularly beautiful hand. He gives his "spleen stone" to his daughter Holbrooke, valued in the inventory at £10. He appears to have died rich, and to have had a valuable library, as it is estimated by the appraisers at £160. His works are three sermons preached at the Collegiate Church in Manchester, Lond. L. Fawne, 1641, 8vo.; a Sermon on Esth. iv. 16, Lond. 1646, 4to.; and a very scarce one, (only two copies being known to exist, one in the possession of James Crossley, Esq., and the other, by the kindness of a friend, now in the hands of the Editor,) on 2 Kings, xi. 12, which he preached in the Collegiate Church on the restoration of the monarchy.

[1] Gorton is a rural township in the Parish of Manchester, and its chapel is in the patronage of the Chapter.

in Warrington, and, being of a very publick spirit, endeavouring to get supply for as many places as he could, he most importunately pressed me to preach for him the very next Lord's day. This was a mighty surprize upon me. It troubled me exceedingly to deny so good a friend; but, on the other hand, it was so grievous to me to (o) thinke of running like a lap-wing with the shell on my head, so raw in University-learning, and upon such short warning, that I humbly intreated him to excuse me and never to thinke of so extravagant a thing; and, when that would not serve, I flatly denyed him, onely before we parted, upon his great importunity, I promised to see him at his owne house upon Friday after, which I could the lesse offer to deny, because the latter end of that weeke and the beginning of the next were vacation dayes at our schoole, because of Shrovetide.

When we were parted, I began more fully to consider the bottome (p) of his designe in engaging me to come to his house, and, suspecting what proved to be true, I thought it adviseable to prepare somewhat towards a sermon, if need were. Accordingly I set to my worke in the strength of Christ, choosing an easie text, namely, Eph. ii. 4, 5, and preparing so much upon it as I thought would serve for a single discourse, beyond which I hoped he would never urge me; and upon this I bestowed my meditations all along as I went to his house. When I came thither he was gone to preach at an exercise about two miles off, but had left word with the house-keepers to entertaine me kindly and to bring me into his studie, which confirmed me in my former suspicion, and put me upon further meditations. When he came home he told me there was no remedie, but preach I must the next Lord's day, for he had promised to supply three places that day, and had none to assist him but me and another, onely I should have my choice of the three, which were St. Helen's, Hyton, and Middleton. I expostulated with him for his rashnesse; but when nothing would excuse me, I told him St. Helen's was very inconvenient for me to begin at, being amongst my old neighbours, where I was a schoole-boy not six yeares before; Hyton not much fitter, being a place where many knew me, and supplied by Mr. Bell,[1] one

[1] William Bell, M.A., was ordained by Dr. Bridgman, Bishop of Chester. He

of the most famed preachers in the county. Middleton was further off, where few knew me, and the parson there was an honest humble man, (considering his high birth,[1]) but accounted an exceeding meane preacher, and his assistant, (my old third master,) in whose stead I was to go, much weaker then he. Here, if any where, I hoped my paines might find acceptance, and there was hope I needed to preach but once.

But the parson proving quite unprovided, I was necessitated to officiate both ends of the day, wherein God assisted me above my feares and hopes, so that in the evening the assistant's place was offered me. But considering that it would looke very unhandsomely that I should be instrumentall to thrust out my poore old master under pretence of supplying his place, and that he being a decrepid man with a charge, and possibly might find it difficult to get another place, (whereas I was a single man, and might have one easily if I deserved any, and however had my schoole for a good sufficient supply,) it were great pittie to remove him: (for these (q) reasons, I say,) I excused myselfe and refused the offer, onely giving the parson many thankes for his respects.

Section vii.

Not long after this, having so farre overcome my bashfullnesse as to preach at St. Helen's, there was providentially one present, belonging to Gorton congregation, who earnestly invited me to goe thither and bestow my paines there, in order to a closure if God

was one of the King's preachers, minister of the Parish Church of Huyton, and was ejected for non-conformity in 1662. He lies buried in the church of Huyton, where he died in 1680, aged 80, with a laudatory inscription over his grave, which is inserted in Baines's *History of Lancashire*, vol. iv. p. 5.

[1] William Asheton, M.A., (of the honourable house of Middleton,) was second son of Richard Asheton, Esq., and his wife Mary, daughter of Thomas Venables, Esq., Baron of Kinderton. He became Rector of Middleton in 1633, and married at Great Lever Chapel, 27th May, 1635, Elinor, daughter of Thomas Brooke, of Norton, Esq. He died in 1659, and was buried in the Rector's Chapel within Middleton Church. His grave-stone, (long concealed by a pew,) with a legible and very laudatory inscription, was discovered in 1837, while some alterations were making in that part of the church by the present Rector.

saw good. I did soe, and they were wonderfull civill to me, gratified me for my paines liberally, and offered me three times
(r) so much as the assistant's place at Middleton was worth. I desired to consider of their offers till the next Lord's day; and then, upon their further pressing me to give in my answer, I consented to their termes, upon condition that I might have the universall consent of the chappellrie testified under the hands of the inhabitants, as also of all others having speciall interest, as patrons or the like, if any such there were, (but there was none,)[1] and, above all, that, if the committee of ministers acting by a speciall commission for tryall of others did not approve of my preaching there, the contract should be void.

The consent of the inhabitants was got in a trice, and that of the ministers upon my first appearance, some of themselves knowing me very well, and so my conditionall grant became an absolute one.

This engagement was entered into in the spring, (for it was in Lent,) and I thinke the moneth of Aprill, 1646. So soon as I could conveniently give up my schoole to a successor (which I thinke was in May) I came to live amongst them in Openshaw, a little towne in that chapellrie. But though the people were generally civill, and prized my paines but too highly, estimating my abilities above their true worth, and many of them were very religious persons, of all sexes and ages, capable of such impressions; yet, had I knowne into what a waspe's nest I was to come, I would much rather have contented myselfe with Whitley-schoole, or such a poore stipend of £13 per annum, as that at Middleton, for every second day, and disposed of my selfe as I could for the other, (if not to have lived upon bread and water,) then to have beene involved in so much trouble and discontent as quickely followed; which, that it may be better understood, I shall briefly unfold: 1. What was the state of things there at that juncture; 2. What mine owne judgement and affections then were for; 3. How things were put on and

[1] It seems that the power of the Chapter, (or what remained of it,) to present, was at that time either waived or destroyed.

acted amongst us; and to doe all this with all imaginable fidelity and impartiality, so farre as will consist with that charity and tendernesse that is necessary to preserve the good names of some worthy men now dead; in which case, though I dare not speak any untruth, I shall spare the reporting of some truth that would have beene for (s) mine advantage, and where it can be, forbeare mentioning any man's name in that which is interpretable to his prejudice, though nothing but what he would owne if he were alive, as matter rather of duty then disgrace.

Section viii.

This was that bustling yeare wherein the Presbyteriall and Congregationall governments were like Jacob and Esau strugling in the wombe.[1] The latter (not waiting for a civill sanction as the former did) was got into possession at Duckenfield, in Cheshire, within two miles and an halfe of us, had beene tugging hard at Gorton to get in there in the dayes of Mr. Wigan, my predecessor, who spent his afternoone's sermons constantly to promote it, and meeting with remoras too weighty to be removed, he was then using all endeavours to get it up at Birch, (as neare to us as Duckenfield,) which in time he effected. The presbyterians were as busie (especially some) to get their government settled all over the county, and that all separate congregations, such as Birch, (for Duckenfield was out of their

[1] For by the far the best account of this contest between the new sect of the Independents and the old Presbyterians see Hibbert's *History of the Collegiate Church*, vol. i, p. 242, *et seq.* Mr. Hunter, in his *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 64, says, "The controversy originated with Mr. Samuel Eaton, who returned to England at the beginning of the war from New England, whither he had gone when he imbibed or had become strengthened in the principle of Independency. On his return he settled at Duckinfield, in the Cheshire parish of Stockport, but near the confines of the parish of Manchester. There he had a gathered church. He was very zealous for his Independent principles, and was supported by a few of the neighbouring ministers, particularly Mr. Root and Mr. Timothy Taylor. There were persons favouring these opinions in Manchester even as early as 1649. Hollinworth tells us that a small Independent Church was founded which met in a room at the College." I can find nothing of Mr. Wigan except what appears here, and what follows in Martindale.

compasse,) might be suppressed. A Petition was set on foot that summer to that purpose, amongst many other smart ones, subscribed by 12,578 hands,[1] though (as is usuall in these cases) multitudes of the subscribers were drawne on by the persuasions and example of others, and some of them soon after subscribed an anti-petition to it; but at last leave was got, and an establishment, with some limitations, of the Presbyteriall government throughout the county, which was divided into classicall divisions, (I thinke eight in number,[2]) with ministers and others nominated as fit to be of each classis. For the promoting of this publick worke three very worthy ministers of great abilities, piety, and interest, living at the same distance from us of two miles and an halfe, (besides diverse gentlemen and tradesmen in and about Manchester,) were deeply engaged, Mr. Harrison, of Ashton-under-Line, Mr. Hollinworth, of Manchester, and Mr. Tilsley, of Dean,[3] but then living in Manchester also, as

[1] For an account of this Petition, and the controversy to which it gave rise, see Hibbert, vol. i. p. 245, &c.

[2] The number of Classes into which the county of Lancaster was divided was nine. Baines, in his *History of Lancashire*, vol. ii. p. 38, &c., gives a list of the parishes and of the individuals of which they were severally composed. They were authorised by an Act of Parliament, dated Oct. 2d, 1646. When Walker wrote his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, only the proceedings of the second Classis, consisting of the parishes of Bury, Bolton, &c. were known to exist. They were known also to Dr. Whitaker, who, in his *History of Whalley*, makes the following caustic observation upon them:—"They exhibit a medley of carelessness, injustice, and disorder, which prove that men not altogether unqualified to teach, may yet be very unfit to govern." Since then, however, the proceedings of the first, or Manchester Classis, have come to light. They belong to the then Presbyterian, now Unitarian, Chapel in Cross-street, Manchester. A transcript of them is now in the Chetham Library, and, having much interest as a picture of that distempered time, is proposed for future publication by the Chetham Society.

[3] John Tilsley was born in Lancashire, supposed to be of the family of the Tildesleys of Weardley, and was educated at Glasgow. He was first curate to, and then succeeded, Mr. Horrockes, the celebrated Puritan Incumbent of Dean. He was thrice excluded from his Incumbency, first by the Engagement, then by the Act of Uniformity, and lastly by an indictment for non-conformity. He was treated with great forbearance by the liberal Bishop Wilkins. He died in Manchester, Dec. 12, 1684, aged 60. Calamy says of him, that "though his abilities were such as seldom meet in one man, such was his modesty, that he was not sufficiently satisfied with his own performances as to print anything." Martindale was

his severe booke in vindication of the petition and promoters of it doth still make it to appeare. These were very zealous (usually called Rigid) presbyterians, that were for the setting up of the governance of the Church of Scotland amongst us, (some few circumstances excepted,) and the utter extirpation of Independencie, root and branch, as schismaticall and inconsistent with the covenant; and accordingly, before that Petition was set on foot they had frequently declared themselves roundly that way, both in private disputes and publick sermons, especially at a weekely lecture in Manchester to that purpose, undertaken principally by Mr. Hollinworth, though Mr. Harrison, Mr. Johnson of Stopport, and others assisted. Besides Mr. Hollinworth had printed a booke called An Examination, &c.,[1] and another of Queries[2] with a smart epistle to (and against) Mr. Eaton[3] and Mr. Taylour, who had replied to his former booke, and were answering his epistle[4] as he also was rejoining[5] to (t) their reply just at the time I came among them. Mr. Heyrick was then up at London, and after his coming downe I heard him on a fast-day, in a great congregation at Manchester, declare himselfe (before the ministers of the classis then just setting up) so perfect a Latitudinarian as to affirme that the episcopall presbyterians and independents might all practice according to their owne judgements, yet each by divine right. How his brethren liked this I know not, but I am sure so he said, his text being, "The government shall be upon his shoulder." Isaiah, ix. 6. And Mr. Harrison did little

better informed on this point. The title of his pamphlet is "The Lancastrian Petition to Parliament, with observations." Lond. 1646, 4to.

[1] "An Examination of sundry Scriptures alledged by our brethren, in defence of some particulars of their Church-way," &c. &c.

[2] "Queries modestly (though plainly) propounded to such as affect the Congregational-way; and specially to Master Samuel Eaton and Master Timothy Taylor."

[3] Samuel Eaton was, (as before mentioned,) son of Mr. Richard Eaton, Vicar of Great Budworth, in Cheshire. He died in 1664. Anthony-a-Wood gives some account of him in his Athenæ Oxon.

[4] "A Defence of sundry Petitions and Scriptures alledged to justifie the Congregationall way; by Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor." Lond. 1645, 4to.

[5] "A Rejoynder to Master Samuel Eaton and Master Timothy Taylor's reply: or, an Answer to their late Book, called a Defence of Sundry Petitions," &c.

lesse then contradict him, following him upon that text, Zach. iv. 9., making it his great businesse to reprove the Independents for not laying a good foundation.

Mr. Angier[1] was also then at London when I went first into those parts, about printing his booke, intituled, *An helpe to better hearts, &c.* Some thought he was not very throughly satisfied what course to steere before he went up. However that was, he came downe satisfied to joyne with his brethren in setting up the presbyteriall government, but, for all that, was very moderate towards all that he judged godly of the congregationall way, and spoke with very great reverence of Mr. Eaton and Mr. Taylour, his neighbours at Duckenfield, praysing them for pious men, good scholars, and excellent preachers.

Section ix.

In this posture I found things, and how troublesome they must be to a young man in my circumstances will easily appeare by what followes. I was just come out of a part of Cheshire where Mr. Eaton and Mr. Taylour (but especially the former) were had in greate esteem, and I inclined to the same opinion concerning their worth, and was much pleased with Mr. Taylour's moderate spirit; yet not so, but that I had the like esteeme of those three worthy men before mentioned of the opposite partie, and would take the

[1] John Angier, of Eman. Coll. Camb., a very distinguished leader among the Presbyterians, owing partly to his connexion, by marriage, with several wealthy and influential families, but principally to his "sweet, moderate, catholic, healing spirit." Whilst Curate of Ringley, in the parish of Prestwich, he seems to have been noticed by Mrs. Bridgman, daughter of Mr. Lever, of Kersall, Esq., and wife of the Bishop of Chester, (who then lived at Little Lever,) and afterwards his kinswoman. In 1632 he settled at Denton, a Chapelry in the parish of Manchester, where he died on the 1st Sept. 1677, aged 72. His house was a refuge for the nonconformists of the time, he being in high favour with the Bishop of Chester, whose frequent inquiry, says Calamy, was, "How doth the good man, Mr. Angier, do?" His principal work was, "An Help to Better Hearts in Better Times, in several Sermons." Lond. 1647, 8vo. His life was written by Oliver Heywood, and many interesting particulars may be found of him in the life of the latter by Hunter, 8vo. 1842.

boldnesse to tell them freely what I disliked in their church-way. Faine I would have kept communion with all these good and (u)
learned men, but it would not be. To be familiar with them of one partie was to render me suspected to the other; and because I thought it was more for my benefite to argue with those of both persuasions as I respectively met with them, concerning those things in their wayes wherein I was unsatisfied, then to discourse of such wherein I was of their mind, this had like to have lost me to them both. And the like would have beene my lot if I had resorted to neither, besides the totall losse of their societie. I would faine have removed out of this hote climate into a cooller, but the people would not heare of it, and had me so fast that I could not get away (v)
honestly without their consent. Next I was desirous to meddle of no side, but onely to preach the Gospell to them. But neither would that be; for there was belonging to the congregation at Gorton an ancient professor that had formerly driven a great trade, and after borne a considerable office as a souldier in the warres, but at that time was out of all employment, onely gave himselfe much to reading and Christian converse. This gentleman had a good respect for me, was the principall instrument in engaging me to the people, and would willingly have bestowed his daughter (an excellent young woman) upon me for a wife, was willing to have me tabled in the same house with him, to furnish me with any bookes he had or could procure for me, gave me a great deale of good advice in order to my practice both as a Christian and a minister, prayed often with me and for me, and gave a character of me upon occasion (especially to the ministers he had most interest in) above what modestie would give me leave to owne; yet for all this my great trouble was mainly (w)
(if not onely) occasioned by this good man. He was so incessantly zealous to have the government set up amongst us with all speed, and, in order thereunto, have mine ordination hastened beyond all the rules of expedience, as I thought; for, 1. The ministers of the classis were in no haste, but we might take our owne time for them; 2. The people, except one or two that he had influenced, were well satis- (x)
fied; they had no reason to beleeve that more businesse and

interruption of my studies would mend my preaching; Baptizing fell out so seldom in that small congregation, and neighbouring ministers were soe willing to doe that worke, either at their owne places or mine by way of exchange, that they felt little inconvenience that way; and as for the Supper of the Lord, all that were in a capacity to have had it with us, might be admitted at neighbour places neare enough, viz. Ashton, Denton, or Newton, but especially at Manchester, our parish church, where they could not be denied.

(y) 3. I myselfe desired some further time, not onely to fit myselfe better for the examination previous to ordination, (which, according to the rules the classis were bound up to, was to be prettie smart; for, besides other matters touching the worke of grace in his owne soule, his ends in desiring the ministerie, and his direct call to the place where he would officiate, &c., the expectant must give a satisfactory account of his skill in the Greek and Hebrew tongues, in logick, philosophy, and divinity; and also exhibit a Thesis upon a question given in Latine, and to defend it (in the same language) against the syllogisticall opposition of those great scholars,) but also to get satisfaction of some scruples I was under. It is true I made no doubt of the truth of our English Churches,[1] and consequently I thought they needed onely reformation, no new constitution, and that the congregationall way of gathering churches was the way to spoile many churches for the new making of one. I very much disliked their making an explicite covenant the forme of a church, the preaching of gifted brethren not intending the ministerie, the ordination of a minister by the imposition of the hands of a few ruling elders chosen by the people, (as was practiced at Birch in Mr. Wigan's case,) the mainteininge of ministers by Lord's dayes' collections as the gospel-way; their deniall of church communion to known-godly persons and members of confessedly true churches, because not of their particular forme; the enslaving of the ministers

[1] This question, as to the truth of "*Churches,*" is the primary point of difference between Episcopacy and every kind of dissent from it, the former holding the doctrine (as expressed in the Nicene Creed) of "*one* Catholick and Apostolick *Church.*"

so to the will of the people that Mr. E. and Mr. T. would oft professe their willingnesse to comply with presbyterian ministers in diverse points if their people would give way; and sometimes when (z) they had actually agreed (presuming the people would not gainsay) they have been forced with disgrace to retract. I did also, with the five Apologists,[1] thinke it very unreasonable that any congregationall church should challenge such an independencie as not to be liable to give an account to the magistrates above them, and their neighbour churches about them. These things the most rigid Presbyterians could not dislike in me; but then there were some things (though very few) that I desired to study better before I (aa) could come to act as a member of the Classis, (and to be ordained by the ministers of it, and then to disclaime it, I thought disingenuous, if not scandalous,) for, 1. I thought that deacons were as fully warranted and required in scripture (where they might be had) as ruling-elders, if not more. 2. That neither the one nor the other could orderly act before they were solemnely ordained by imposition of hands. 3. That I could not answer to Jesus Christ if I undertook a pastorall charge over the profane of the congregation, our hands being bound out from excommunicating such of them as after all other meanes still remained incorrigible (which was the case of classicall ministers there).[2] 4. I could not easily satisfy myselfe how any confederation amongst ourselves or authoritative sanction could constitute us a church of a new classicall forme, *jure divino*, whereby I (amongst others) should both be authorised and obliged, in point of duty, to exert a pastorall power of feeding by discipline to such whom I was not at all able, nor ever intended to feed by doctrine, nor was ever like to see the faces of the tenth part of them. 5. The waye of that Classis taking in five or six parish churches and many

[1] "An Apologetical Narration of some Ministers, formerly Exiles in the Netherlands: now members of the Assembly of Divines; Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jer. Burroughs, and Wm. Bridge, the authors thereof." Lond: 1643, 4to. These five, being Independents, were nick-named by the Assembly "The Dissenting Brethren."

[2] For the powers which the Classis possessed, mode of examination, ordination, &c., see Hibbert, vol. i. p. 248, *et seq.*

chappells, Manchester Church alone having no lesse then nine chappells under it.[1] This was my third reason (viz. mine owne dissatisfaction in these things) why I disliked preposterous haste. But there was a fourth, neare as strong as these, and that was the vastly different apprehensions of the good people of Gorton congregation. One honest gentleman, of better parts and greater interest then he that drove on so eagerly, was against ruling-elders, as unscripturall, and strangers in antiquity. Diverse were downright for the congregationall way, which yet, by tendernesse and lawfull condescensions,
(bb) might be perhaps kept from deserting us, as I after had experience elsewhere. Others that went not so farre, yet professed their aversenesse to be brought under the power of such as they accounted overrigid, though otherwise worthy men; much lesse could I hope to persuade them to put their neckes under the yoke of some ministers, both old and young, in some of the out parishes, that I myselfe saw no reason to be fond of, or to submit to the conduct of ruling-elders that might be chosen ten miles from us, in an obscure part of Eccles parish, abounding with popish and ignorant people, viz. that corner
(cc) that joynes to the parishes of Warrington and Winwick; so that had I beene perfectly satisfied myselfe, yet I must have driven on gently, or have broke all to pieces.[2]

Section x.

In this strait I made my case knowne to holey and peaceable

[1] It seems there were then ten places of worship belonging to the Church of England in the parish of Manchester; there are now, (1845,) either built or building, fifty.

[2] What a complication of difficulties on the part both of minister and people, and how graphically narrated! It appears, indeed, that Martindale had some time before recorded his name for ordination by the Classis, as in the Proceedings of "The First Classis in the Countie Palatine of Lancaster, containing the Parishes of Manchester, Prestwich, Ouldham, Flixton, Eccles, and Ashton-under-Lyne," a transcript of which is deposited in the Chetham Library, the following entry occurs, under the date of Feb. 1646:—

"Thursday, 4 Mar: 1646, preparation for ordination, Mr. *Martindale*, Mr. Holland, Mr. Clayton have offered themselves to be examined."

Mr. Holland and Mr. Clayton were ordained on the 15th of April, 1647.

Mr. Angier, who very cordially tooke it into consideration, and imparted it to Mr. Heyrick, I having the happinesse to be present. Mr. Heyrick, in his quick way, alluding to those words, ("Tarry at Jericho till your beards be growne,")[1] declared himselfe fully that I should either have time allowed me to satisfie myselfe or be dismissed, which I liked very well, and resolved to stick to; and that I might be noe more baited in such a daily manner by my old gentleman, and another in the family, that tooke his part, I removed my quarters into a more peaceable place.[2] Mr. Angier was for time of consideration, but by noe meanes would hear of my leaving Gorton; yea, though he was resolved to entertaine an assistant, and

[1] This text (1 Chron. xix. 5,) has been frequently made the ground of a joke, puritanical and political.

[2] He seems to have brought his doubts distinctly before the Classis. In the MS. proceedings before mentioned is the following entry, under the date of June 9th, 1647:

"Mr. Adam Martindale being dealt with by some members of this Classis hath received satisfaction, as by these following particulars may appeare: —

'*Manchester, June* 8, 1647.

'1. In an ordinary way ministers not to be ordayn'd but by ministers.

'2. Ministers, as ministers, have power to ordayne in any congregation that gives them a call, and this call is y^e^ consent of y^e^ people.

'3. In an ordinary way ministers are to be ordayn'd in y^e^ presence of y^e^ Church to which they are appointed and by which they are chosen.

'4. The congregation of Gorton, though it stand in need of much reformation, yet is such a Church as may be communicated with in all ordinances without a new constitution.

'5. Elders of several Churches, having y^e^ consent of y^e^ major part of every congregation distributively considered, may rule their Churches in comon unto all censures.

'6. What I judge of y^e^ Church of Gorton and y^e^ communion to be houlden with it, I judge of y^e^ rest of y^e^ Churches of England in generall.

A. MARTINDALE.'

Richard Heyrick.
John Angier.
Rich. Hollinworth.
John Harrison."

Under the date July 8, 1647, is the following entry: — "Mr. Angier is desired to speak to Mr. Martindale to know y^e^ reason of his not coming, seeing hee hath professed to have received satisfaction."

Again, Sep: 1, 1647: — "Mr. Ad. Martindale to be warned to appear at y^e^ next meeting by Mr. Angier."

had a great respect and kindnesse for me, and I earnestly desired that employment under him, both in order to my peace and growth, (though the salary was lesse,) he refused to be any way instru-
(dd) mentall in drawing me away from Gorton. But he encouraged me to undertake a great piece of worke, to which I somewhat inclined of myselfe; which was to read over endways all the considerable authors I could get for and against Presbyterianisme and Independencie, and to write out all the concessions I could meet with from either partie, and by comparing them under every head, to try whether men of peaceable spirits of both persuasions might not hold communions sweetly together, notwithstanding their different apprehensions in some notionall principles; and to this purpose lent me a great number of bookes, to which I added many more by the helpe of my purse and friends.

I went almost through my reading and transcribing worke, and had collected many sheets of pertinent quotations, which I had but newly done when I left Gorton. These rough draughts were sufficient for mine owne satisfaction in the affirmative, and to draw them up into a treatise for the use of that people which I was leaving seemed very improper, and liable to misinterpretation, as if I had designed to obstruct my successor in his worke. To print it (as some desired) I durst not attempt, because I made account that so large a treatise, written by so young and obscure an author, would sell but badly, and consequently I could not hope that any stationer would undertake it but upon termes too chargeable for me to comply with. Yet, upon great importunity of friends and insultation of enemies, I did afterwards, in the yeare 1650, print an epitome thereof,[1] which falling into the hands of Mr. Baxter he was pleased to say that of it which is not fit for me to rehearse, and desired it might be published againe more enlarged, but other businesse diverted me. Afterwards, in the yeare 1659, when moderation was growne in fashion,[2] Mr.

[1] See below, Sect. xx. Probably this is the same work with the one there referred to.

[2] "A meeting was held at Manchester on the 13th of July, 1659, at which certain terms of agreement were settled. They are expressed in very general words, and

Hudson writ his Irenicon, and a great meeting was at Manchester of ministers of both persuasions out of severall counties, and some progresse was made towards accommodation. A worthy friend seconded Mr. Baxter's motion, and desired me to make what haste I could without precipitation. I fell busily to it, but that worke came to nothing, by reason of the breaking out of the designe of Sir George Booth, since Lord Delamer.[1]

Section xi.

But to returne to my businesse at Gorton: about the same season that I was going on with my pacificatory worke I married Elizabeth Hall, second daughter of John Hall, of the Clock-house in Drilsden,[2] (ee)

do no more than bind the two parties to the mutual exchange of civilities, and the laying aside 'all unnecessary distances and unbrotherly carriages,' which did not become ministers of a common Gospel. Mr. Heyricke, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Angier, and Mr. Newcome were among the first to subscribe the terms on the part of the Presbyterians." — Hunter's *Life of O. Heywood*, p. 109.

[1] The name of Sir George Booth will frequently occur in these memoirs; and it may not be necessary to introduce more than a short account of him in this place. As head of the Presbyterian party in Cheshire and Lancashire the part which he acted was sufficiently prominent to find its place in the history of England, to which the reader may be referred. His pedigree may be found in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 401, and more at large in Collins's *Peerage*, vol. vii. p. 68, ed. 1768. Of "the designe" here alluded to we shall have more particulars hereafter.

[2] The family of the Halls were long a respectable yeomanry family in the parish. James Hall, of Droysden, yeoman, was living 18th Sept. in 12th Jac., and seems to have been an agent of the Byrons of Clayton Hall. The Clock-House was a small farm, probably bought from the Byrons, who sold very extensive estates in that neighbourhood about the time mentioned above. There is still a house in Droylsden bearing the name. Major Jollie was a member of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis, and brought up three sons to the University; the most famous of whom was Thomas, the Independent Minister of Altham, near Padiham, in Lancashire. His adventurous life is given at great length in Calamy. Few of the non-conformist divines seem to have been more unnecessarily involved in political strife. For his conduct in the affair of casting out the devil from "the Surey Demoniac," and the obstinacy with which he battled with the Presbyterians, see Hunter's *Life of O. Heywood*, p. 368, etc. Calamy gives the fair side of his character; but Dr. Whitaker, in his Edition of *Thoresby's Ducatus*, shows that he was an active agent in the disreputable Farnley Wood Plot; while his factious

within the parish of Manchester, a freeholder of good ranke, and by report a most eminent Christian, but dead long before. His wife, who is still alive this present yeare, 1685, after married Mr. James Jollie, after Major Jollie. We were married very solemnely and publickely (about a month after Mr. Angier had contracted us) by Mr. Heyrick, in Manchester Church, upon the 31st of December, 1646,[1] and our first child, being a daughter, was borne in Gorton upon the first day of January, 1647,[2] who was baptized at Denton the next Lord's day after by Mr. Angier, bearing the name of her good grandmother and mother, viz. Elizabeth.

Section xii.

About this time, or soone after, two things concurred which much furthered my removall from Gorton. 1. There was a failing to pay my salary punctually according to our first contract, and so in strictnesse I was set at libertie from it, and thought (that snare being broken) I might very justly take the advantage, especially considering, 2. that mine old friend was now so exasperated by my delayes, that he and some others of his mind (out of our congregation) were labouring to introduce another; yet the people in generall (especially the most religious) were so loath to part with me, that we had many meetings about setling my maintenance for

opposition to Col. Nowell and Mr. Parker, of Extwisle, the neighbouring magistrates, according to the same authority, forms a remarkable contrast to the mild but firm conduct of Adam Martindale under circumstances somewhat analogous. If there be any truth in the science of physiognomy, his portrait shows him to have been a man who had formed very decided opinions with regard to himself.

[1] A clerical error occurs in the entry of the marriage of Martindale in the Register of the Collegiate Church, which is as follows:—

"Weddings in *November*, 1646.

31. Adam Martindale and Elizabeth Hall."

[2] Lest the reader should be somewhat startled at this announcement, he is requested to bear in mind that these events occurred before the alterations in the Calendar, when the year commenced in March. In the year 1752, among other alterations, the legal year, which before had begun on the 25th of March, began upon the 1st of January; this alteration first took place on the 1st of January, 1752. See the Statute, 24 Geo. II., chap. 23.

the future, and agreeing about discipline in case I should proceed to ordination; and we proceeded so farre, that mine old gentleman drew up one paper for accommodation and I another, which were afterwards, by consent, contracted into one, and the substance of them very well liked; but some ministers of the classis to whom it was shewed excepted against some passages in it, which those that were concerned would not allow to be altered, and so I was resolved to remove into another place where there would be no occasion for the like bickerings. (ff)

Section xiii.

But perhaps it will be said, this people of Gorton did afterwards choose elders who fell in with the classis and acted with it, so that the main obstruction seemes to ly in my dissatisfaction or aversenesse. To which I answer, if that had beene so I could not have helped it, for I was held there by an ensnaring promise against my will; else I would faine have given way to another that had no such scruples, which, notwithstanding all the meanes I could use, by impartiall study and conference, did still in some measure remaine with me, especially that concerning the ordinary extent of the pastours' ruling-power. It was granted (yea asserted) and proved by the authours of that famous booke called Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici,[1] (by sundry ministers of London,) that elderships of single congregations are vested and furnished by divine right with ecclesiasticall power and authority to exercise and dispense acts of government in and over their respective congregations whereunto they belong, yet not so as to deny appeales (which I was also for). I had no mind to meddle with the affaires of other congregations, except by way of advice and assistance in some extraordinary cases upon their desire; and for our owne I was verily perswaded, that if I were once

[1] The title of this work is as follows: — "Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici; in all which it is apparent that the Presbyterian Government, by preaching and ruling Elders, in Congregationall, Classicall, and Synodall Assemblies, may lay the truest claim to a Divine Right, according to the Scriptures." Lond. 1646, 4to.

ordained and an eldership settled, we could doe all our businesse amongst ourselves, or else it would not be done at all; and it is now evident, by the narrative of Mr. Angier's life,[1] page 30, that he somewhat leaned to that opinion. And if I may trust mine old memory in a thing of so remote a distance, I heard him say he hoped never to trouble the classis with any controversy concerning his owne congregation so long as he lived.

But the truth is, diverse belonging to Gorton leaned towards independencie before I came thither, and others overwent me that way against my will. And as for the after agreement there were diverse things fell out (though some of them sad ones) that tended to hurte
(gg) all betweene the classis and the congregation. The governement was not set up, (as I take it) till the latter end of my second or beginning of my third successours' dayes. In the interim, such as were stiffest for the congregationall government joyned at Duckenfield or Stopport, (whither that church removed,) and never medled in the affaires of Gorton afterwards, save sometimes to hire and pay for their seates. The churches of Duckenfield and Birch ceased to be so amiable in the eyes of prudent Christians that dwelt nigh them as once they were, for Mr. Wigan quite left Birch and became a captaine, and after a major. Mr. Taylour was dismist and went to Dublin. Mr. Eaton was chaplaine to the garrison of Chester, by occasion whereof, and many journeyes to London, Scotland, &c., he was frequently absent from the church, and his place was then supplied by gifted persons, whereof the best was many degrees below him, and many other neighbour ministers, and some of them bitter, presumptuous fellowes, to say nothing of the scandalous breaches that shortly afterwards fell out amongst them, even to printing one against another. And as for the ministers of the classis, they, alas! were become great sufferers. The Cromwellian army was become rampant, destroyed the King, put downe kingly government with the

[1] "A Narrative of the Holy Life and Happy Death of that Reverend, Faithful, and Zealous Man of God and Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, Mr. John Angier, many years Pastor of the Church of Christ at Denton, near Manchester, in Lancashire." Lond. 1685, 8vo. Written by Oliver Heywood.

House of Lords, and secluded the most worthy members of the House of Commons, and acted many other villainies. Diverse of the ministers of the classis hurried about and imprisoned at Liverpool and Ormeskirke, till it came even to peaceable Mr. Angier. Those of Manchester, viz. Mr. Heyrick and Mr. Hollinworth, put to pensions, (if they got them,) the colledge lands being sold, and the colledge itselfe to Mr. Wigan, who now being turned Antipædobaptist and I know not what more, made a barne there into a chappell, where he and many of his perswasion preached doctrine (hh) diametrically opposite to the ministers perswasion under their very nose. In such a season as this, as the suffering ministers were more endeared to the religious people of Gorton, so they were also apter to condescend to such as would then owne them, and accordingly Gorton was allowed, or at least indulged, to chuse deacons as well as elders. And at length the classis, being hopelesse of any assistance from civill powers, declares for the exercise of excommunication without it; (whereby diverse gentlemen, ministers, and others of the episcopall partie were startled, and writ a booke called Excommu- (ii) nicatio excommunicata,[1] which was answered by Mr. Harrison on

[1] This book, which produced so great a sensation in the Presbyterian Classis, was written by the Rev. Isaac Allen, an Episcopall Clergyman of great learning and ability, who still kept possession of the Parish Church of Prestwich, with the approbation of the congregation, and in defiance of the denunciations of the Classis, adhering to the forms prescribed by the book of Common Prayer, as far as they were then allowed by law. His book is the substance of a correspondence in which he was engaged with the Presbytery, in which his authority and theirs were fully debated. Mr. Harrison, as before mentioned, was deputed to answer it on behalf of the Classis. The controversy seems to have been conducted on both sides, if not always with moderation, yet with much ability and learning; and is admirably summed up by Dr. Hibbert, in his *History of the Collegiate Church*, vol. i. p. 312, &c. Mr. Allen was a native of Prestwich, and of the same family with Cardinal Allen, a native of the same county. He married Anne, daughter of Edmund Ashton, Esq., of Chadderton, who, as patron, presented him to the Rectory of Prestwich, as appears from the Inquisition taken at Manchester June 16, 1650. He removed to Ripponden in Yorkshire, where Mr. O. Heywood says of him, "Old Mr. Allen, who had been parson of Prestwich, a solid substantial preacher, who had been turned out in the war-time for not taking the Covenant; he found shelter there; they loved him well." He was restored to Prestwich, and was buried in the church, Feb. 21, 1659. His tomb-stone has lately been discovered, with a long inscription upon it.

behalfe of the classis,) yet for all this, I heard that when officers were to be chosen at Gorton there were sad divisions amongst them, and my old gentleman set aside, who made a sure account to be one; and their minister, Mr. Seddon,[1] stayd not with them according to the expectation, (though they had built him an house,) but left them and went into Derbyshire. What, then, can any rationall man conjecture would have beene the issue, if things had beene driven on in my time, when circumstances were quite otherwise; but this by the way.

Section xiv.

A little before and after my departure from Gorton, I was invited to no lesse then five places in Cheshire; that is, Ashton-upon-Mersie, Rotherston, Northwych, Lower Peovir, and Chadkirke. But I had much more inclination to goe into the West-riding of Yorkeshire. The noble spirit of the gentrie and others in those parts was very attractive.[2] Besides there were severall worthy ministers that desired assistants, of which number I desired rather to be (in order to my improvement) then to have an ordinary place to myselfe. I was proposed to three of these places, at Wakefield, Rotheram, and Sheffield; the ministers whereof, Mr. Cradock, Mr. Clayton, and Mr.

Upon this great controversy (and indeed the only one that took place in Lancashire of any moment) between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, I find the following interesting memorandum in Newcome's Diary, under the date of Jan. 16th, 1658:—"We had now our great contest with the Gentlemen in our parts about the Government, and the Papers became printed that had passed between them and the Classis. In the Answer we printed, Mr. *Harrison* drew up the maine, Mr. *Angier* the epistle; and the Narrative of the whole business, and the Answer to their Preface, was put upon me, which I did as it is now printed."

[1] Robert Seddon, M.A., of Christ's Coll. Camb., was born at Outwood, in the parish of Prestwich. He lived with Mr. Angier's family before he went to Gorton, as here mentioned. He thence removed to Langley, in Derbyshire, where he was involved in Sir George Booth's movement in favour of the royal cause. He died at his brother's, Captain Peter Seddon's, in the house in which he was born, March, 1695, aged 77. He was a man much respected by his friends, and possessed an excellent memory of the Scriptures. Such is the substance of Calamy's account of him.

[2] That Yorkshire was the district in which Puritanism especially flourished at that time, and more particularly among the smaller gentry and freeholders, see Hunter's *Life of Heywood, passim.*

Fisher, were men of very good account. I had also three other places offered me to my choice, viz. Penniston, Brambley, and Graysbrook; but the King's forces, under the command of Collonell Morrice and others, taking Pontefract Castle, and ranging up and downe that part of Yorkeshire just as I was going to live there, put a stop to any further proceedings that way.

Section xv.

And now a briske call to preach at Rotherstone[1] in Cheshire, in order to further businesse, being given me in this juncture, I embraced it, and bestowed my paines among them upon a Lord's day. Another was come upon the same account at the same time, and we divided the day and (as it proved) the people betweene us, for they kept us both in suspense, being of diverse opinions whether to pitch upon, but he satisfied them all next morning by being drunk and quarrelling in his Inne. I was invited to come againe, and then the whole parish, in a manner, including three gentlemen and all that made any eminent profession of religion, to a man joyned in an engagement to pay me ten pounds for a quarter then commencing, and some of them declared their resolution to do their best to settle me in the Vicarage. Accordingly some went to the Patron, the Baron of Kinderton,[2] in my behalfe, whose answer was to this effect,

[1] Rotherston, or, as it is more generally called, Rosthorne, is a parish in Bucklow Hundred, in the county of Chester, fully described in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 337, &c. The ancient parish church, dedicated to St. Mary, was long in the patronage of the family of Venables, Barons of Kinderton, through whom it descended to Lord Vernon, who sold it to Mr. Egerton, the father of the present Wilbraham Egerton, Esq., of Tatton Park. The Living was at this time vacant by the death of the late vicar, Mr. Shenton, as the following entry still exists in the parish Register: —

"Sepulturæ, 1647.

Gulielmus Shenton, Vicarius de Rothsterne, Sepultus erat, 3° Feb."

[2] The Barony of Kinderton, founded by Gilbert de Venables, was one of the great Norman Baronies of Cheshire, and was held by that distinguished family through successive generations, till it passed, through the female line, to the family of Vernon, which now represents it. The whole history of the family may be found in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, vol. iii. p. 102, &c. The Baron here

that at present he had no power to present, but when he had power he would do what was right. This was warily said, considering his temper, and that they had, before they knew of procuring me, utterly rejected one (that he had commended to them) as unfit for the place, though a good scholar, because of his dull delivery and some other reasons.

Section xvi.

But some gentlemen of the parish thinking themselves undervalued, and not liking a man of my kidney, attempted my removall severall wayes; as, 1. They procured the Baron to send over to us the Reverend Mr. Thomas Langley, of Middlewych,[1] to preach upon the 24th day of December, 1648, being Lord's day, the designe being to gull the people with hopes of that worthy old gentleman, so as to prevaile with them to cast off me, and then they hoped to introduce another; but he spoiled their game by declaring publickly that he could not leave Middlewych, hearing me the next day, being Christmasse day, and giving me a very good character. This vext them sore, and after they had schooled him to say no more (as indeed he needed not) one of the gentlemen proposed him to the

referred to was Peter Venables, Esq., who married twice; first Mary, daughter of Richard Wilbraham, Esq., of Woodhey, and secondly, Frances, youngest daughter of Sir Robert Cholmondeley, of Cholmondeley, Bart. He was born in 1604, and died in 1669.

[1] I find no mention of Mr. Thomas Langley among the clergy of Middlewich. Middlewich is the parish in which Kinderton is situated; and the Baron had great influence there. "The Baron of Kinderton appoints two churchwardens, the vicar the third, and the parish the other." *Ormerod.* Of Mr. *Samuel* Langley I find the following mention in Mr. Newcome's MS. diary, date 1647: — "Mr. Samuel Langley was then Fellow of Christ's: and he had just accepted the parsonage of Swettenham, in Cheshire, but now went up to Cambridge, and took up Mr. Thomas Leadbeater to be admitted, who was his pupil at Christ's College." In that diary he is frequently mentioned with high praise; and under the date Sept. 10, 1664, occurs the following passage: — "How hath the Lord weakened us of late! What prophets hath he taken from mine head! What admirable men of my acquaintance within this seven years! *Holy and meek Langley;* acute and prudent Hollinworth; sincere, meeke, learned Herle; grave Hirt; laborious and solid Gee; and of late, in a few weeks' space, my two intimate friends, Ambrose and Machin."

people, who answered they had no hope of obtaining him, and desired to know what they had to object against me, to which little was said, but in generall that they judged me not fit. I told him that if Mr. Langley would then declare himselfe willing to accept the place, I would freely depart; (and it would have beene for mine advantage, for I had just at that time received an invitation to another place better then Rotherston by 20 pounds per annum, where there was a knot of good people, and no opposition against me,) but if not, I would either be *the man* or *no man*, for it would not serve my turne to supply that place for a time, waiting for another, and to slip all offers elsewhere; and so that businesse fell.

Next they procure a young weake man (as he after proved, and so (kk) was like, for I knew him to be a profound dunce at the schoole,) to come, as sent by the Baron, as perhaps he was. A gentleman, that was my friend, demanded whether there was any presentation in the case, which being denied, (as we knew well enough there could be none,) he was civilly dismissed, and I kept the pulpit.

Upon this, in a rage, they apply themselves to old Sir George Booth, tell him hideous tales about mine unfitnesse, the wrong done to the Baron of Kinderton, and that my preaching (I being not yet ordained) was against an ordinance and a declaration of the Lords and Commons, and pray his warrant for the good behaviour against me; which he, being almost datelesse for age, (about 87 yeares old,)[1] and beleeving such gentlemen would not deceive him, readily granted. But this was onely *in terrorem*, to have scared me away or discouraged my friends, for they durst not serve it on me, (and so I made account,) being so ill bottomed. I tooke no notice of it, but went on in my worke. But a great multitude of the inhabitants of the parish went to Dunham to assure him that I was no such person as some had represented me, that the parish had almost universally

[1] This application was doubtless made to old Sir George Booth, of Dunham, as the head of the Presbyterian party, who might be supposed to have influence with those who were seeking Martindale's promotion, which he would exert in favour of the rights and wishes of his neighbour the Baron of Kinderton. The age of "dateless," *i.e.* doting old Sir George, is not quite correctly given; "he died," says Ormerod, "the 24th Oct. 1652, having completed the 86th year of his age."

pitched upon me as a fit man, and desired that the businesse of my preaching before ordination might be referred to the months' meeting at Bowdon, which he assented to; and there, before himselfe, Mr. Marbury, of Marbury,[1] and Mr. Leigh,[2] of Boothes, three justices of the peace, I plainly proved that all in my circumstances (viz. such as were approved by a committee of ministers to preach for triall of their gifts, as I was at Manchester) were clearely excepted by the Lords and Commons. So that snare was broken, and I was dismissed.

Section xvii.

At length my friends, being quickened by mine enemies' briske opposition, and burdened with the needlesse charge of maintaining me out of their owne purses, sent up a petition subscribed with many scores (if not hundreds) of hands, to the committee for plundered ministers,[3] who, by their order of March 26, 1649, freely gave

[1] This family, living at Marbury in the time of Edw. II., became extinct in the year 1684.

[2] John Legh, Esq., descended from Agnes, daughter and heiress of Richard de Legh, who married William Venables, whose son John assumed the name of Legh, and settled at Boothes.

[3] This "Committee for Plundered Ministers," which gave the as yet unordained Martindale so ready a possession of the temporalities of the vicarage which he was seeking, was instituted in London, as their title runs, "for making some provision for such Godly Preachers as had either suffered loss of Goods by his Majesty's Soldiers, or loss of Livings for adhering to the Houses of Parliament." With the utmost stretch of charity one can hardly discover how Adam Martindale's case came fairly within the purview of this Committee, according to the terms in which their power is here conveyed. He was not a "godly preacher who had suffered loss," for as yet he was not a "godly preacher" at all. Nor can one easily see what right this Committee could possibly claim over the temporalities of the vicarage of Rostherne; for though they resolved, on Dec. 31, 1642, "to consider what Malignant Persons have Benefices here, in and about this Town, [London,] whose Livings being Sequester'd, these" [viz. "such God and Well-Affected Ministers as have been plundered,"] "may supply their cures and receive their profits"—yet neither was Rostherne in and about London, nor had the Living been sequestered as belonging to a "*Malignant Person*," but had become vacant by the natural decease of the late vicar; while the rightful patron was ready and qualified to exercise his proper functions. It was probably proceedings like these, which must on all hands be allowed to be somewhat summary, which (as Walker says, in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*) "gave occasion to the *Royalists* to vary the name;

me the vicarage with all its appurtenances. In which thing I thought the Providence of God did most strangely appeare in two points:

1. The solicitor employed proved a very silly fellow, insomuch, (ll) that being writ to that he should be sure to see to it that the orders should include the arreares already due, and that he should not sticke to give a fee to the officers concerned upon that condition, he gave the fee and tooke out an order that included them not, though he might have had them inserted, of course, (without any fee,) had he but mentioned them. And yet this weake man was the instrument God made use of.

2. Though he was expressely warned to conceale his businesse from Collonell Moore,[1] as one that was suspected likely to obstruct it, for a particular reason; Collonell Moore (being the onely man in the committee that knew me) gave in such a testimonie on my (mm) behalfe as carried the businesse.

Section xviii.

All this while my predecessor's widow was in possession of the vicarage house and that little gleab there was. I was resolved to take formall possession before sufficient witnesses,[2] because she had all along taken mine adversaries' part, though I was resolved to deale civilly with her as to her stay there till she could conveniently goe to her owne estate near Namptwych. She endeavoured to deferre me, but I would not be put off. Then she sends for severall ministers to argue with me, that because her husband built the house, (though some said at the parish charge, and was a gainer by it,)[3] and died much in debt, (for which other reasons enow were assigned,) I should (though no law could compell me) allow her considerably out of the arreares or otherwise, and I condescended (nn) as followeth:

and, by as just as obvious an alteration, to call them the *Committee for Plundering Ministers*," p. 73.

[1] The "particular reason" why Col. Moore should obstruct his suit does not appear. He had served under him as his clerk, on the other side of the question, see p. 36, and might look for his support; which, it seems, he found.

[2] Martindale was still without the ordination of the Presbytery.

[3] He must have been somewhat singular in this respect!

1. That whereas her husband died in the beginning of February, and she had drawne 28 pounds as an halfe yeares' rent due from Christe's Church, in Oxon, or their tenants,[1] with engagement to beare them harmlesse from the succeeding vicar to whom it belonged by law, or to restore it, I was content to allow it for good.

2. That in regard that she had got the place supplied by ministers (when she could procure them) from Lady-day, 1648, till about Midsummer following, when I came, I was content that for that one quarter of a yeare she should have five eight parts of a whole yeare's stipend of 56 pounds, and I but three eights for the other three quarters; that is, she 35 pounds, and I but 21 pounds. Onely she was to beare her proportionable part of costs in getting these arreares, which was not much.

3. To make these 35 pounds out 40 pounds I promised her five pounds more out of mine owne purse, for which she demanded my bond with a suretie, which I calmely gave her.

4. Besides all this I paid her for all the wainscote in the house, flags of the floore, glass in the windows, with all the inner doores, and even the great double doore full of nailes leading to the hall, or else she would take all these away, and I must either lose them or sue for them, which I tooke to be disgraceful.[2]

5. She enjoyed the house and what little gleab there was, from her husband's death, about Candlemasse, 1647, till May-day, 1650.

Section xix.

While these things were thus going on I had applied myselfe to the classis at Manchester for ordination, bringing with me all such certificates as I knew were requisite in that case, which were not onely accepted, but praised as very good ones. And I was there examined (to use their owne stile) in the arts, in the tongues, and in divinity, and approved. Then there was sent from the classis (as was usuall in such cases) a writing, to be read in the church and

[1] Christ Church, Oxford, is still the Impropriator of the Living of Rostherne.

[2] It does not very clearly appear whether Adam thought her removal of them, or his suing for them, would be "disgraceful." The ambiguity may remain.

after fixed on the church doore, importing what satisfaction I had given, and that if no just exception were put in they would proceed to ordain me. Hereupon one officious gentleman procured one that had beene a proctor's man, and was afterward a proctor himselfe, to assist them in drawing up a worshipfull paper of exceptions, partly false, partly frivolous, and subscribed by the vast number of eleven hands, but that they might have weight where they wanted number, they stiled them all gentlemen and freeholders, which they must be acknowledged to be, such as they were, but a very inconsiderable partie to counterpoise so large a parish. For excepting onely the first, who was indeed a gentleman of estate, good parts, and interest in the parish, the rest might be thus truly characterized: Three of these gentlemen had not one foote of land in the parish or elsewhere, and besides, two of these three were weake-headed men. Three more had run out themselves so by vicious courses that they were readie to sell all their lands, as they quickly after did, and left the parish, and two of them the countrey. Another that could not sell, was by his debauchery become miserably poore, sometimes a prisoner, and sometimes a fugitive for debt, his word being not worth a groat. Two more of the gentlemen were men of such exceeding meane parts as not to be capable of any businesse wherein the exercise of reason was necessary; and the eleventh, though not in the order of subscription, yet for the meanenesse of his freehold, did certainly afterward fall off from all publick worship, and, as was believed, from all Protestant worship in private also. This was the considerable partie that appeared against me in this glorious instrument, wherein they alledged that I was a disturber of the peace of the parish, (which was false,) that the Baron of Kinderton, the undoubted Patron, ought not to be set aside, (though he acknowledged himselfe incapable to present, and was by name excluded by the order of the committee that gave me the place,) and that they desired a grave orthodox divine (though a young weake man would have been accepted by them) of the Baron's sending. A full answer was put in to these exceptions the very next classis-day, and it was also there averred, that of all those eleven there was

(oo) not so much as one that kept up prayer in his family. The classis promised to summon the gentlemen either to retract their exceptions or make them good, but they would neither doe the one nor the other, but they or their agents had such pettie trickes to excuse delayes, and put us of from month to month, which was very inconvenient in regard of the many children to be baptized in that great parish, and the classis was not very forward to proceed,[1] though they

[1] In the MS. proceedings of the First Manchester Classis before mentioned is the following, under the date 7th October, 1648 :—

"There came some of the congregation at Rostron and declared that they were desirous to have Mr. Martindale to be their minister at Rostorne aforesaid, and he with them desired ordination from this Classis ; they tendered a certificate to manifest his call to the place, under the hands of above 268 of the said congregation ; he delivered a certificate of his age that he was 25 years of age, and he brought likewise a certificate that he had taken the National Covenant ; he was admitted to examination, to the end the Classis might receive satisfaction of his fitness for the ministry, and he might exercise the same to the Committee above, to the end his civill right may be cleared to Rostorne aforesaid ; he was approved so farr as he was proceeded with in his examination."

"The question given to Mr. Martindale, an liceat mere privatis in ecclesia, constituta publice concionari. Neg:"

"A certificate given to Mr. Martindale for his approvall so farr as examined. A coppie taken of it."

"21*st November*, 1648.

"There appeared divers of the parishioners (who) delivered a writinge unto which their names were subscribed, and by such as were then present attested, and subscribed by a publick notarie, as they said, who was present, and attested it, wherein they objected against Mr. Martindale's ordination.

"It was resolved not to proceed to ordain the said Mr. Martindale to Rostorne till the tytle he had to the place were created."

"*June* 12, 1649.

"A letter to be sent unto certaine of the inhabitants of the parish of Rostorne which formerly appeared against Mr. Adam Martindale."

"A letter delivered to this Classe, expressing the desire of sundry of the inhabitants of the parish of Rostorne to have Mr. Adam Martindale for their minister."

"*July* 10*th*, 1649.

"Twoe letters being received this day by this Classe from some gentlemen in Cheshire, one from the Baron of Kinderton, and another from some other gentleman of the parish of Rostorne, whereby it appeared that there would be some demurre made to Mr. Martindale's ordination, and Mr. Martindale not being willing to stay so long a tyme of delay as he apprehended would thereby be occasioned to his settlement, did declare himself unwilling any further to proceed in this Classe touching his ordination."

gave me a very full certificate of approbation, that at last I resolved to goe to London for ordination, and to get out an order for the arreares.

Section xx.

In which affaires and my returne home I thought God was wonderfully present with me, by his directing, assisting, and protecting providence, especially in three particulars:

1. I came into London wearied with my journey, in exceeding hote weather, upon Monday, July 23, 1649; upon Tuesday I repaired to Mr. Caryl,[1] of Magnus, at the Bridge-foote, to get a little booke called Divinity Knots, &c.,[2] licensed by him, having written it

[1] Joseph Caryl, A.M., was of Exeter Coll. Oxford, born in London 1602. He was Preacher at Lincoln's-Inn, and a member of the Westminster Assembly. In 1653 he was appointed one of the Triers for the approbation of ministers. Calamy says that, "after his ejectment in 1662 he gathered a congregation in the neighbourhood of *St. Magnus*, near London-bridge," but it is clear from the statement in the text that he was settled there at an earlier period. St. Magnus had a succession of distinguished dissenting ministers. Mr. Caryl published an exposition of the book of Job in 12 vols. 4to., and sundry sermons. He died in 1673.

[2] Of this little book, which is extremely rare, a copy exists in the British Museum. It consists of 88 pages, exclusive of two notes and dedication, and has the somewhat singular distinction of two title-pages. They are as follow:—

"Divinity Knots unbound: or a clear Discovery of Truth according to Scripture, Orthodox Divines, and sound reason, so as weak capacities may receive much satisfaction and benefit. Herein seventy-five doubts are resolved, drawn from these several heads most in controversy, viz. touching the Scriptures and God, his Decree and Creation, of Providence, of the Fall of Man, of the Law of God and the two Covenants, of Christ the Mediator, of Free Will, of Calling, Justification, Adoption, Sanctification, Faith, Repentance, and Good Works, of Perseverance and Assurance, of Christian Liberty and Liberty of Conscience, of the Civil Magistrate and Church Censures, of Religious Worship and of the Sabbath Day, of Party, of the Church, of the Communion of Saints, of the Sacraments. By Adam Martindale, one of the meanest Labourers in the Lord's Harvest. London, printed for John Haucock in the Pope's Head Alley, near the Royal Exchange, 1649, 12mo."

The other title-page is as follows:—"Divinity Knots unbound: or a clear Discovery of Truth by resolving many doubts according to Scripture, Orthodox Divines, and sound Reason, so as weak capacities may receive satisfaction therein, to which purpose a Number of points are explained, by familiar Similes: A Treatise intended specially for the Instruction of young Christians in Rothstorne

a little before for the strengthening of the younger sort of Christians of our parish in the truth, especially against Antinomianisme and Anabaptisme, which abounded in two adjoyning parishes, and had something infected ours; and enquiring of him concerning the meeting of classis he advised me to enquire of Dr. Younge, of Black-Friars, which I immediately did, though I knew of no haste, and coming to him, he told me they were just then sitting at a Church in Leadenhall street, (of which he told me not the name, but it proved to be Andrew Undershaft,) and withall added he feared I could not reach them ere they broke up; but it pleased God I did, when they were
(pp) just upon going home, and they had beene gone ere I came but that they were stayed by another young man, that came as I did when they were upon the point of departing. I acquainted Mr. Blackwell, minister of the place and scribe of the classis, with my businesse, length of my journey, and ignorance of the time and place. He went in and pleaded my cause so that I was admitted, though Dr. Spurstowe, the moderator that day, was somewhat discontented at their late staying in that place. In a word, I was examined then and approved, and the next day, July 25, 1649, (as my Testimonialls shew,) ordained in the same Church, Mr. Manton[1] (after Dr.) being chairman, who preached an admirable sermon upon these words, Matt. xi. 12, "And from the days of John the Baptist," &c. This

Parish in Cheshire, but published for a further extent of the benefit thereof to the Israel of God. By Adam Martindale, one of the meanest Labourers in the Lord's Harvest. 2 Tim. ii. 7; 1 Pet. v. 10. London, printed for John Hancock, in Pope's Head Alley, near the Royal Exchange, 1649."

[1] Of Dr. Manton a very full account is given in the Nonconformist's Memorial, abridged from a Life of him by Dr. William Harris. He was a very eminent man in his party, often preached before the Parliament, and on other great occasions, and is said to have been very instrumental in restoring the royal family, for which he obtained a Doctor's degree in Divinity, a place among the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference, and the offer of the Deanery of Rochester, which he declined. He held the Living of St. Paul's Covent-garden, till he refused to comply with the Act of Uniformity, and then became a constant hearer of his celebrated successor, Dr. Patrick. His works are numerous, among which are "Smecktymnus Redivivus; an Answer to a humble Remonstrance," and a funeral sermon for Mr. Christopher Love.

was a singular providence, for if that opportunity had been missed (as it was wonderfull it was not) I must have stayed a month longer,[1] and run God knows what hazards, by spitefull enemies, letters out of the country, and the wrath of Rulers against Presbyterian ministers in the citie, which they daily exasperated by their cutting sermons.

2. When I went to the committee for plundered ministers to get an order for the arreares, my petition (through the unskillfullnesse of the sollicitour) was so drawne as it would certainely have delayed and hazarded, if not utterly have spoiled, my businesse, as I saw by the deare experience of some whose petitions came on before mine, which within a short time was to follow, being on the table before them, and out of my power to recover. When, loe, in a trice, Providence prevented that evill; for the gentlemen that sate being no more than could make a quorum, one of them suddenly rushes (qq) away, and would by noe meanes be prevailed with to stay, though much urged by the chairman, whereupon they adjourned to another day, and I had time to get my petition rectified, and the next time they met it was patiently heard and readily granted.

3. When I was to returne home, I stayed in London a little time after I had done my businesse for company to come safely downe with, for there was great robbing by the way, especially neare Dunstable. We came out about four of the clock to St. Alban's, and there lodged. Next morning we set out early, designing a good dayes journey, but my horse having been kept up close in London, (because he was stoned,) fell sicke by that time I had gone eight or nine miles, and was scarce able to goe a foote-pace, and all my company left me in the most dangerous place of all the road. I was a little suspicious of every one I saw follow me, but committed myselfe to God's protection, who brought me off safely. With much adoe, (rr)

[1] The Committee of Triers seem to have rivalled in dispatch their brethren the Committee of Plundered Ministers. How little could they possibly know of Martindale's qualifications for his sacred office! No testimonials from the Manchester Classis, no history of his past life seem to have been sought for; but he is at once ordained by a committee impatient to be gone! Adam calls this "a singular providence,"—but then the case was his own.

sometimes riding softly and sometimes going on foote, I got to Brick-hill about noone, where my horse being well cherished, became heartie, and carried me freely to Daintree that even.[1]

Section xxi.

When I was come home my friends were joyfull and mine adversaries silent, and diverse of them became seemingly my friends. Copies of my booke came downe soon after me, (for part was printed while I stayed there,) which I freely bestowed upon mine intimate friends and such as I thought they might be serviceable to, and (I thanke God) the effect was good; for, before that, some would say I might talk my pleasure in the pulpit, and in dispute with such as they that were no matches for me, but if such able men had me in hand the case would be altered. But now that mine arguments and answers were in their hands to show to whom they pleased, and none of their admired teachers in the neighbourhood, nor any others from abroad, made any returne to them, that pretence vanished into nothing.

Upon the 19th of December mine eldest sonne Thomas was borne at John Bentley's house, of Hough-greene, where I tabled with my family, which now being come to the number of four, and likely to encrease, I resolved, with the advice of my friends, to keep house at the vicarage, and in order thereunto to remove thither in the begin-
(88) ning of May. But such a Providence intervened as might have prevented it, and though it did not soe, it begat in me a greate deale of trouble and anxiety of spirit. Some will be readie to judge me imprudent in mentioning it, as accounting it a very great blemish to me, fitter to be smothered in silence; but others may perhaps be more favourable when they weigh each circumstance in an equall ballance. However, I resolve to imitate the Historiographers in holy writ, who balke not their owne actions, though not always justifiable; so, having undertaken an history of mine owne life, I will not wave so considerable a point, let men say of it what they will.

[1] Adam little knew the luxury of railway travelling!

Section xxii.

Wee had beene brought by severall removes into the power of a remnant of the House of Commons, influenced and enslaved by Cromwell and his partie, after called the Rump. That these were grand usurpers against the knowne lawes of the kingdome, I had not so much as the embryo of a doubt; but supposing them such, how to carrie under them was the grand question, wherein many learned and good men were divided. Mr. Prynne[1] was of opinion that we should not obey so much as passively if we could avoid it; but, however, not in the least actively, no not so much as to pay assessments, though by distraining they would put us to much more loss and inconvenience. Others thought this impoliticke, and a foolish punishing of ourselves, but thought we must not voluntarily owne them by making use of their power. A third sort were of opinion that we might obey actively, but it must be onely materially not formally; that is, we might in that which is in itselfe lawfull doe what is commanded, but not because it is commanded; and that we might lawfully looke after our right, and so farre make (tt) use of them as to sue before judges commissioned by them, and appeale to themselves or magistrates appointed by them for justice; this being interpretatively no more then to say, *If you will usurpe authority use it well, and add not injustice to usurpation;* but by no meanes will they allow to take commissions and to act under them

[1] The history of William Prynne, an eminent compiler of records, and a distinguished political character, is too well known to require a lengthened notice. He was a graduate of the University of Oxford, and subsequently a Preacher of Lincoln's-Inn. Being a Puritan of a very strong stamp, he published a book in 1632 called "Histrio Mastix, or a Scourge for Stage-Players," for which, as a libel on the Court, he was fined £3,000, degraded from his degrees and the bar, set twice in the pillory, and lost both his ears, while his book was burnt by the common hangman. Even this outrageous sentence did not tame his spirit. He was afterwards a very active member of parliament, and became a loyalist at the Restoration. He died in Lincoln's Inn, in October, 1669. He was a most voluminous writer. A catalogue of his works (which consist of nearly 200 volumes) is given, with an account of his life, in Wood's Athenæ. The most useful of them are his "Calendar of Parliamentary Writs," and his "Records." The latter consists of 3 vols. in folio.

by vertue of such commissions. This, if I remember right, (for its long since I last read him,) is the true length of Mr. Gee's foot.[1] A fourth sort went a step beyond this; for though they thought they might not engage to be true and faithfull to usurped powers, they beleeved that justices of the peace or other officers might take commissions from and act under such usurped powers. Of this mind (among many others) was that precious peaceable man, Mr. Angier, as is manifest by the narrative of his life, page 31, compared with page 33. And, lastly, there was a fift sort, that held they might

[1] Mr. Edward Gee was a noted Puritan, distinguished for his preaching as well as his writings. It is said of Nathanael Heywood, brother of Oliver, who resided two years with him, that he "became moulded in his method, manner, and practice." Mr. Gee was minister of the Parish Church of Eccleston during the Usurpation, and a member of the sixth Presbyterial Classis. He published, among other works, "The Divine Right and Original of Civil Magistrates from God, illustrated and vindicated."

Of the Gees it seems that there were three brothers who were ministers of the Gospel at the same time. This appears from a passage in Mr. Newcome's Diary, under the date of 1658, which is in other respects so full of interest (especially to Manchester readers) that I cannot resist transcribing it. Two of Newcome's brothers, it must be premised, Stephen and Richard, who were ministers like himself, were at this time on a visit to him in Manchester, where he was minister in the Collegiate Church. His diary thus proceeds: — "This was remarkable, that my grandfather by the mother was borne in Salford. We went, when together, to see the house those 3 brothers were born in. (It was now in the hands of Mr. Fr: Worthington" [father, it may be added, of the distinguished Dr. Worthington,] "my good friend.) They were Robert Williamson, D.D. and parson of Tichmarsh, John Williamson, M.A. and minister somewhere about Lowth in Lincolnshire, and Henry Williamson, B.D., parson of Connington in Huntingdonshire..... Another sister married to one *Percivall* in Ardwicke. She was an old woman, and a very gracious good woman; and she was now with us; and she had heard her 3 unkles preach all of a day at Manchester; and she desired that I would supply my own course, and that we would all preach of a day that were the grandchildren of the youngest of those 3; and so we did, as beforesaid; which the old woman greatly rejoiced in, and much notice was taken of it, and the like not remembered, save only of the 3 *Gee's*, that did once so preach at Manchester. But thus Providence cast me to dwell there, and to be employed where my grandfather was borne and brought up, and should once have been Warden of the Colledge; had the Patent upon the death of Dr. Dee, and Mr. Bourne came up and sued for it, and they being great friends he would not stand in his way, and so surceased the prosecution of it; and Murray soone stept in."

not only live quietly and peaceably under the governement of such usurpers from whom they had and expected protection, but if need were, and they were required, might give bond or other assurance so to doe.

To adjust these matters to an haire, as some conceived, came out that notable booke, called "An Exercitation concerning Usurped Powers," printed in the year 1650, 4to., confidently said to be written either by Mr. Hollinworth or Mr. Gee.[1] Upon perusall of it I perceived that the authour was a man of good reading and a strong head-piece. That he had very fully proved our present rulers (who then were over us) to be grosse usurpers; but as to the directive part, how we were to demeane ourselves towards them and under them, I thought it had many flawes, which I noted downe and drew up in Queries. One of them onely (and that for the substance alone) I doe remember—*Whether the Exercitator did not Calvin* (uu *wrong in quoting his interpretation of these words, Render unto Cæsar, &c., lamely and imperfectly out of Marlorate's*[2] *shreds, so as to leave his reader in hand that Calvin was of the Exercitator's opinion, viz. that Christ did not then determine whether tribute was to be paid to Cæsar, but wisely avoided the snare by a suspensive answer, as if he had said, If it be Cæsar's, render it to him, &c., whereas Calvin is expresse and large for the contrary opinion to that of the Exercitator?* And because I loved to play above-board, I communicated my paper of queries to mine old friend and acquaintance, Mr. Hollinworth, humbly desiring him either to answer them himselfe, or to procure me an answer to them from the authour of

[1] The pamphlet was written by Mr. Hollinworth.

[2] Augustina Marlorat, an eminent Protestant Divine of the 16th century, and classed among the Reformers of the Church, was born in the Dukedom of Lorrain, in 1506; during the civil wars of France he was condemned to be hanged as a seducer of the people, which punishment he suffered, 1562. Among his numerous publications is the following, which is the one alluded to by Martindale:—"The Lectures or Daily Sermons of that Reuerend Diuine M. Jhon Caluin, vpon the Prophet Jonas. Whereunto is annexed, an excellente Exposition of the two last Epistles of Sainct John; doen in Latine, by that worthie Doctour Augustine Marlorate, and Englyshed by N. B., newely corrected and amended." Lond. 1580, 4to.

the Exercitation if it were not his. Before he had read them he seemed inclinable to gratifie me with his owne answer, but after perusall, he told me, *It bore hard upon the Exercitation, and therefore was fittest to be answered by the authour of that booke, which he was knowne not to be*, or words to that purpose. So I left it in his hands for the Exercitator, but never received a line in returne to it. Perhaps my paper was lost; but, however, I lost the benefite of an answer.[1]

Not long after an Engagement[2] was imposed upon the people of England, *to be true and faithfull to the Commonwealth as then established, without a King or House of Lords.* This occasioned many little pamphlets pro and con, but little to my satisfaction. I thought Mr. John Duries's Discourse[3] for it had more words then weight, and the bitter answer to him more malice then matter. Much of that sort of papers was spent in a charge of usurpation

[1] If Martindale suspected, as he probably did, that Hollinworth was the author, there is much dry humour in this last remark.

[2] Nothing seems to have perplexed moderate men of all parties more than the propriety or otherwise of taking the oath enforced by Cromwell on all of 18 years of age and upwards, which was called the Engagement. The substance of it was, "that he would be true and faithful to the government established without king or house of peers, and that he would never consent to the readmitting either of them again," or words to that effect. Without taking this Engagement no man could have the benefit of suing another at law, or travel above a certain distance from home, &c. Clarendon says of it, "the necessity for taking which oath, did not only exclude all the royal party, but freed them from very many who had offices in Church and State, who, being of the Presbyterian party, durst not sacrifice their beloved Covenant to this new Engagement."

[3] John Dury, or Durie, was a Divine of Scotland, who laboured with great earnestness to unite the Lutherans and the Calvinists. He was a most voluminous writer, and wrote many pamphlets on this great question of the Engagement. The title of the one here referred to is, "Considerations concerning the present Engagement, whether it may lawfully be taken. Yea or No? By John Dury. Lond. 1650." His other pamphlets on the subject are, "Impartial Consideration of, and Answer to, the Humble Proposals of sundry Divines concerning the Engagement, and objections against taking it answered. Lond. 1650." "Just Reproposals to Humble Proposals." Do. "Disengaged Survey of the Engagement." Do. "Two Treatises concerning the Matter of the Engagement." Do. "The Main Scruple against the Engagement removed." Lond. 1651, &c.

upon the governors by one partie, and warding it off by another, which signified little to me who was satisfied of the usurpation, but doubted whether, notwithstanding that, the engagement was unlawfull, and the exceptions made to the exercitation still stuck with me. All the ministers of any account for ability and good conversation in the neighbourhood that I used to converse with, save onely one, whose parts lay more towards prayer and practicall preaching (wherein he was an able usefull man) then such mixed controversies, were for subscribing it. So also were my friends generally in Rotherstone-parish, who would have beene sadly grieved if I had beene sent from them for refusing, as some good ministers were. But all this must passe for temptation if the thing was unlawfull in itselfe. Therefore, to hear what could be said as to that point, (vv) understanding there was a meeting of ministers at Warrington to consider of that question, thither I went, with a desire to be satisfied, (if I knew mine own heart,) but by something or other was unhappily hindered, that I came not to the beginning, when, (as I after heard) they laid downe their positive grounds against the engagement. When I came in I found a great number of able men met together, and amongst the rest three great knockers for disputation, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Hollinworth, and Mr. Gee. The first was thought to be as acute a respondent as any countrey minister of England; the other two were very solid and substantiall men. They had all of them beene much exasperated by the usurpers, were full in their judgements and affections against them, had already declared themselves so as people sufficient understood them, especially Mr. Gee, in a printed paper against Mr. Eaton. These were the men which mainely undertooke the answering of all objections; as well they might, for they were able to run down any ordinary man whatever his cause were. Besides, it was evident that the opponents had no designe to carrie out their owne arguments, but onely urged them as the objections of others against which they desired to be strengthened. One ancient divine in our neighbourhood of my perswasion was among them, but he was too wise to oppose himselfe to the torrent. I was in a great strait what to doe.

Nothing that I had heard gave me any satisfaction, for the objections ventilated were such, or so urged, as suted not my judgement. To shew myselfe of a singular judgement against so many great and famous divines seemed very presumptuous, and to oppose so many able disputants was to get Phaeton's epitaph, Magnis tamen excidit ausis, &c., *he perished in great attempts.* But on the other hand, to conceale my grounds and to go home and subscribe, seemed to me disingenuous, if not scandalous and treacherous to myselfe. I tooke heart, therefore, and urged my arguments.

I. I argued from Jer. xxix. 7, to this purpose:—

If the people of God in Babylon were to seeke the peace of that cittie and pray unto the Lord for it, (which was more than to be meerely true and faithfull,) though the King of Babylon was an usurper over the Jewes, then we may engage to be true and faithfull to usurpers over us. But the former is true, *ergo*, the latter also.

1. The consequence of the major was denied, because they had God's command for it, which we have not.

I replied, that was for my advantage, for it was not a command of such an extraordinary nature that made a thing good because commanded onely, but of an ordinary nature, commanding a thing antecedently good upon a ground common to us with them, viz. *In the peace thereof ye shall have peace.*

2. They answered that the King of Babylon was no usurper in his governement over the Jewes, for God gave them into his hand.

I replied, so *He gave Jacob to the spoile and Israel to the robbers*, yet I hoped the robbers had no good title by this.

3. They rejoyned, there is more in it then soe, for God did not onely providentially deliver them up into Nebuchadnezzer's hands, as he doth into the hands of thieves and robbers, but declared it to be his pleasure that they and other nations should serve him by threatening them with judgements if they refused. Jer. xxvii. 8.

But neither did that satisfie me, for its plaine that God gave the ten tribes to Jeroboam, not onely providentially as to thieves and robbers, (whom we may pursue, take, and bereave of their spoiles,) but he owned it so farre to be his will that he forbad Rehoboam

to endeavour the recovery of them, 1 King xi. 31, &c., cum chap. xii. 22, &c., and yet Mr. Harrison said expressely it was rebellion in the ten tribes, alledging 1 Kings xii. 19; and I remember well he said, that though the word *rebellion* was taken sometimes for a lawfull defection, as when Hezekiah is said to rebell against the King of Assyria, 2 Kings xviii. 7, yet in this case of Israel under Jeroboam it must needs be taken in the worst sense, and quoting, as I remember, Hosea, viii. 4, "They have set up kings, but not by me."[1]

I doe not now remember what they said more, for when I had spoke, ordinarily two or three, sometimes more, were readie to speake; and though they gave place to one another, and spoke successively, yet when so many had spoken differing (though not contradictory) things, I knew not to whom or what mine answer was most expected by the auditory; and when I began with one, intending to goe through all so farre as my memory would serve, being served still after the same fashion, the other members were neglected, and nothing could be brought to an end by mee had I beene as able as the best of them, when I was but a stripling (in a manner) of 26 years old. Yet for all this I made bold to forme another syllogisticall argument, which (to the utmost of my remembrance) was to this effect, and so prosecuted as followes: —

If the beleeving Romans (in the 13th chapter of the Epistle to them) were enjoyned, not onely subjection, but such other duties as, taken together, implied truth and faithfulnesse, and more, to their usurping emperours, then we may engage to be true and faithfull to usurpers. But they were so enjoyned. *Ergo.*

1. The respondents denied the minor, saying there was no necessity to understand the emperours, by the higher powers, for the Romans had other lawfull powers, as particularly the senate.

[1] It seems that these formidable disputants adhered, in their controversy, to the old syllogistic method of argumentation which they had learned in the Universities, and which is still retained there on keeping the Exercises for Divinity Degrees, it having been found, by long experience, the only means of restraining disputants within ordinary time and method. It would be well if the same system could be introduced into other public assemblies!

I replied the emperours must needs be understood, and that as supreme, (1 Peter, ii, 13, 14,) for the members of the senate were some so courtified in their principles, and others so cowed and cajoled, that they were no more a free senate, but the emperour's slaves.

2. To this was said, the case was so with us, for those which called themselves the parliament were not free, but slaves to the grandees of the armie.

Which I granted, as not making against me, for if the cases were parallell my argument was unshaken.

3. They answered further to the minor, that though the emperours were at first intruders, yet there having beene many successions, taking up a deale of time, this being written either in Claudius's or Nero's dayes, (they were yet noe more positive,) the emperour's might in this time become a lawfull power by the expresse or tacit consent of the senate and people.

This, I thought, was a tickle point, in what time and by what successions usurpers become lawfull princes, and what power the consent of subjects could convey in that case; but my maine answer was, that no such consent appeared save what was forced. There lay also a particular exception against Claudius, who was set up tumultuously by the souldiers against the mind of the senate, designing then to recover its former power.

4. A minister of good yeares, then living about Chester, affirmed that this epistle was certainly written, not in the dayes of Claudius, but of Nero, (wherein no man seconded him,) and that Nero was made emperour by the testament of Claudius and the full consent of the senate and people, alledging Plutarch, Tacitus, or Suetonius, or some such authentick authour, I have forgotten whom. This gentleman (who after became a conformist in Dublin) was a very bold asserter of things. His owne godly brother in Chester told me he would adventure upon anything, though he understood it not, as law, physick, &c.; yet being much my senior, and under a tolerable character, I was not willing so publickly to question his veracity, or seeme to tax him with temerity, as to aske others

(whose word I could better have relied upon) whether any of them had read this, for I my selfe had not, and was much unsatisfied of the truth of it. But waving that, I answered, (per partes,) 1. That the testament of Claudius signified nothing, for he was an usurper himselfe; and *Nil dat quod non habet*, if he had no lawfull authority he could give none. 2. As to the senate and people, they were (as was said before) enslaved by the emperours and souldiers. Much more I would have said, but the day being farre spent, the encounter so unequal, (many well studied divines against one novice, *Impar congressus* indeed,) and some young men at my backe not so over-civill but that they gave me some disturbance, I gave it over, and the ministers concluded that something should be written and published, which after was done, a good while after; but being prattie large it came too late to prevent any in our parts subscribing the Engagement, but served for an apologie on their behalfe that refused, the booke being intituled A Plea for Non-subscribers.[1]

Section xxiii.

I went home much troubled that I was like to runne counter to so many excellent men's sentiments, but satisfied in nothing by their (ww) pains, save in what I knew before, viz. that this was their judgement, and they were very able to maintaine it. On the other hand, many that were employed by the imposers of this new Engagement, to tender it and promote it, assured us, so farre as their word would goe, that the designe was no more then that we should behave ourselves peaceably under that governement, and that so long as it should continue, which (whatever were their hopes) any wise man might foresee could not be long, Cromwell being then too high to be kept long out of the saddle, which in a little time he mounted into, changed the establishment, (so called,) and broke this engine of the Engagement. And indeed it was rationall to beleeve, that by

[1] Martindale's description of this debate is a very striking picture of the state of feeling as well as learning at that time. He seems to have been a somewhat formidable antagonist, if we may rely on his own account, to these "great knockers for disputation."

people's being true and faithfull to them, they could meane no more but that they would live quietly and peaceably without plotting against them, and yeeld such obedience and compliance as people may doe, where yet they are not fully satisfied in the governement: for they deserve to be try'd[1] for fooles if they beleeved that either the Royalists (which yet generally subscribed, so farre as I can heare, — I am sure some high ones did,) or the Presbyterians, which generally were more averse to it, would ever be their cordiall friends, so as to suffer with or for them, or to helpe them up againe if once throwne downe. And if they had not designed it to
(xx) keep such in peace, but as that which they thought such parties would refuse, and so be exposed to suffering, it is probable such selfe-seeking men would have made the penaltie on the non-subscribers to have beene for their owne advantage as sequestrations, or some such thing: but this they did not. The penaltie was such as did occasionally gratifie some particular knaves that would plead non-engaging against some plaintiffes suing them for just debts, (till that barre was removed by Cromwell,) but the publick (as they called it) got nothing by it.

About the same time came out an answer to the Exercitation by Mr. Rous, and a learned (though little) treatise called the Northerne Subscribers Plea,[2] which gave many satisfaction, and something furthered mine. So that at last, being called on by the Justices, five or six ministers in our neighbourhood subscribed, whereof I was one.

Section xxiv.

A good while after comes out that long expected booke of the ministers of Lancashire, called A Plea for Non-subscribers, thought to be written by Mr. Gee.[3] Upon an impartiall perusall whereof I

[1] This word is somewhat obscure in the manuscript. It may be something else, as the phrase has much of the air of a dry Lancashire saying.

[2] I cannot find any account of this little tract.

[3] A Plea for Non-subscribers: or, The Grounds and Reasons of many Ministers in Cheshire, Lancashire, and the parts adjoyning, for their refusall of the late Engagement, modestly Propounded. 4to. 1650.

thought much more was said then I had ever met with before; for in comparison to this, *The Packe of old Puritans*,[1] *Arguments against the new Engagement*, *The answer to Mr. Durie*, *&c.* were but as the Spahi in the Turkish armies, fit to dull the enemies' swords in comparison of the stout Janizzaries. This booke argued notably against the Engagement, from our condition as Englishmen and as Covenanters, undertooke the Northerne Subscribers Plea, Mr. John Goodwin[2] and diverse others; and, (to speake the truth,) though it did not convince me fully that I had sinned by subscribing, it bred in me some doubts and scruples.

Nor were they taken away by the animadversions of a neighbour minister upon that treatise. He was a young man of very pregnant parts for preaching, prayer, writing, and disputation, and so zealous and painfull in his worke that he killed himselfe with it in the best of his time; but he spent his booke in proving the rulers then over us to be no usurpers (I meane so well as he could, for to me he might as well have offered to prove the moon to be made of greene cheese). He went much upon the principles of Knox, Buchanan, Lex, Rex,[3] and Grotius, *de jure belli et pacis;* trod much in Milton's steps, and being overwhelmed with melancholly, which by times made him peevish and morose, he managed the controversie with so much bitternesse and severe reflections, not onely upon the authour of that booke, but also upon the royal family, that the thanke I gave him for the printed copie he sent me was a sharpe reproofe, which I so iterated upon occasion that at last I prevailed with him to send a

[1] A Pack of old Puritans maintaining the Unlawfulness and inexpediency of subscribing the new Engagement. London: Printed by the Company of Covenant Keepers, dwelling in Great Britaine, 1650, 4to. 35 pages.

[2] John Goodwin, M A., is described by Calamy as "a learned divine, and a smart disputant, but of a peculiar mould, being a Republican, an Independent, and a thorough Arminian." He was turned out of his Church at Coleman-street even by the Committee of Plundered Ministers as being too violent for them. "He was excepted from the Act of Indemnity for having written a defence of Charles the First's murder, and his book burnt by the common hangman." He wrote many controversial tracts.

[3] Lex, Rex: The Law and the Prince, a dispute for the just Prerogative of King and People. Lond. 4to. 1644. This tract is not in the British Museum.

letter by me to the ministers of the Classis in Cheshire, bewailing his miscarriages in that and some other controverted things, begging
(yy) their pardon, and desiring to be received into that association, as he accordingly was; but this was a good while after the writing of his booke, and for ought I know he remained of the same judgement that he was, as to this civill controversie, but grieved (as he had cause) for his manner of handling it.

In this interim it pleased God to visit me with a sore feaver about May, of which I recovered but slowly, and striving to preach againe
(zz) too soone, I had a dangerous relapse about Midsummer, and another about Michaelmasse. Dr. Bentley's physick wrought cleane contrary to his expectations, yet it did me apparent good. And though he told a young gentlewoman once as he came from me, he had taken his last farewell of me, I have, by God's bounty, lived to double my time, and have outlived them both many years.

In one of these three fits of sicknesse I was very melancholy and light in my head, insomuch, that hearing of a foolish old man that had given away his estate to a wild young prodigall, I was hugely
(az) tormented with thoughts continually haunting me that I had given away mine so from my wife and children.[1] At this time, also, my scruples concerning subscribing the Engagement became heavie, so that I had a desire that two of my brethren that were of contrary persuasion would discourse in my chamber, for which I was as fit, considering the weaknesse of my body and braine, as to hear a lecture in Arabicke. After some time, when I was perfectly well againe, and had leisure calmely to consider the thing, though I was not able to say it was absolutely sinfull, yet having suffered so much trouble of conscience by that unhappie thing, I tooke occasion in the pulpit to complaine how hardly those tender people that pretended so much to libertie of conscience had delt with their brethren in imposing burdens upon them; and mentioning the Engagement, I told the people that had I known so much as I now did, I beleeved I should never have meddled with it.[2]

[1] What a natural turn his delirium seems to have taken!

[2] One cannot but respect both the sincerity of his scruples, and the manliness

Section xxv.

This bustling seven yeares, so full of action, was concluded with that remarkable businesse, the battell at Worcester, which I shall not take notice of as a publick concernment to the nation, (for that belongs not to my province,) but as it was signalised to me by great mercies in relation to myself and family, which was thus:—Though (bz) part both of the King's armie and Cromwell's, in their march thither and retreat back, came through our parish, and some few to my house; and though many of my neighbours had great losse by having their hay and corne destroyed and their horses taken, and diverse that pursued the broken partie which plundered horses lost their lives; and though when I fled from home and tooke onely some few of my bookes and best goods, I was in little hope that the rest could be secured from both parties, I missed not at my returne any thing to the worth of twelve pence, nor had any other harme.

SOME SHORT NOTES

ON THIS LONG CHAPTER.

([a]) A competencie may maintaine us as comfortably as abundance.

([b]) It is a mercie to be delivered from unreasonable men.

([c]) Unreasonable men are cruell like beasts.

([d]) Wrongs are to be forgiven, though not always dammages.

([e]) When we have time enough for businesse 'tis good making use of it.

([f]) The place we are fit for 'tis good to abide in, at the least till we be fitted for a better.

([g]) The advancement of God's glory and the good of soules is no doubt a glorious work in itselfe.

([h]) It is not good in matters of weight to make more haste then good speed.

([i]) Good teachers are choise mercies to a young man.

([j]) Students of these dayes have much to thanke God for in regard of excellent bookes not known to former ages, and much to answer for if they be negligent.

with which he confesses them, both to his people, and in this written record of his inmost thoughts. The "searchings of heart" among honest men, at that trying period, must have been distressing indeed.

([k]) A bad choise of bookes, for want of due direction, is very prejudiciall to a student.

([l]) God oft bestowes on us great mercies when we knowe nothing of them.

([m]) We may confidently beleeve when we are in God's way, that he will either deliver us from evill, or at the least sanctifie it to us.

([n]) The ministry is a tremendous matter, not to be adventured upon without due preparation.

([o]) It is good to be prepared for that which we feare we cannot avoid.

([p]) To be fearfull of doing ill procures God's helpe to doe things well.

([q]) Selfe deniall sometimes proves to our great gaine.

([r]) It is better to have lesse with quietnesse then more with trouble.

([s]) Unnecessary truth, though convenient, should rather be waved then others reflected on, especially the dead.

([t]) It is too ordinary (though sad) for good men to have fierce contestes with one another.

([u]) Contestes among able men is a great prejudice to such as need the assistance of both parties.

([v]) Rash promises oft bring people into great straits.

([w]) God sometimes makes those that prize us overmuch and love us well the chiefe instruments of our trouble.

([x]) Needlesse avocations from study are carefully to be avoided by ministers, especially young ones.

([y]) Great businesse requires much care, time, and preparation.

([z]) It is a most preposterous thing for private Christians to prescribe rule to their holy and learned teachers.

([aa]) When a man really doubts of the lawfullnesse of things he must not runne on blindfold, but study them better.

([bb]) As Jacob would not overpace his children, nor overdrive his flocke, so in doubtfull cases ministers must deale tenderly and not hurrie the people on too fast.

([cc]) Offence (especially of many) is carefully to be avoided.

([dd]) It is more honour to be a gracious man then a rich man.

([ee]) As a dog or storme drives sheep together, so doe afflictions God's people.

([ff]) Deluded sectaries oft drive on to a great height of immodesty, spite, and disorder.

([gg]) It sometimes falls out, that while we endeavour to satisfie one displeased partie another takes fire at it.

([hh]) By following our owne judgement or affection we oft mistake God's mind, as Samuel in the choise of a king among Jesse's sonnes. 1 Sam. xvi. 6, 7.

([ii]) Pride hath a great hand in division. Prov. xiii. 10.

([kk]) It is an unworthy thing to abuse old antiquated magistrates to unwarrantable actings by representing things amisse.

([ll]) God sometimes doth great things by weake meanes.

([mm]) God can easily make that to doe our worke that we thinke would spoil it.

([nn]) Strictnesse of law is not allways his rule that will consult his conscience or credit.

([oo]) Truth seekes not corners, but some causes need shifts.

([pp]) God sometimes doth our worke in the very nicke of time, by his speciall providence.

([qq]) How wonderfull is God's goodnesse in giving us opportunities to mend what was marred beyond our hopes of remedie.

([rr]) When men faile us in time of danger a Christian hath God for his refuge to fly unto.

([ss]) Great troubles come oft unsuspected.

([tt]) Learned and good men ordinarily differ much in their conceptions, even about practicall things.

([uu]) The choisest men's writings have their flawes.

([vv]) In ordinary we ought not so to rest on our owne judgement as not to weigh what may be said by others of better abilities.

([ww]) A young man hath cause to be troubled when he finds many able and good men contrary to him in a weighty practicall point.

([xx]) Corrupt men usually aime at their owne profit.

([yy]) Unchristian management spoiles a good cause and worsens a bad one.

([zz]) The skill of the most eminent physitians is not absolutely to be relied on. This was Asa's fault.

([az]) We had need to keep our consciences well in health, for in sicknesse a small scruple will be troublesome.

([bz]) It is not our worke, but God's, effectually to distinguish our lot from that of our neighbours, so that we escape when others deeply suffer.

CHAPTER V.

I. Troublesome controversies disturbing my peace at Rotherston. II. The births of four more of my children, and the deaths of three of them. III. My brother Henrie's death. IV. The rise of another little booke, called *An Antidote against the Poison of the Times*, with the defence thereof. V. The beginning of the associated classis in Cheshire, and the grounds of my joyning with it. VI. Our transactions at Rotherston in order to the sacrament, and oppositions from the Quakers. VII. Our sweet agreement while libertie lasted there. VIII. My buying George Holme's title to my houses and taking a new lease, with two remarkes thereon. IX. My father's death and buriall.

Section I.

I now enjoyed great libertie to worke, and had worke enough to doe. Preaching twice every Lord's-day to a great congregation, (whereof some were very judicious, others as captious,) besides expounding, catechising, and all other publick worke, together with
(a) visitation of the sicke and other employment in private not here to be named; preaching at many funeralls and baptizings, besides no few occasionall sermons at the chapells in the parish. I had my part, also, in maintaining one exercise in Staffordshire yearely, two in Lancashire, and four in Cheshire, besides the great running one of many speakers in those eastern parts, and the lecture in Chester. How I did this worke I am no competent judge, and what good I did, as God alone perfectly knowes, so if I know myselfe it would be Pharisaicall in me to report it. All I will say is, that by his helpe I went chearfully through it when I had mine health, though not without some discouragements. There were a sort of giddie-headed unsettled people among us, whereof some we hoped were honest, but very weake and unsettled, others apparently defective in
(b) common justice towards men, and little better then barettors[1] in setting people at variance. These would sometimes heare me, and sometimes others of contrary persuasions, repeating what I had said

[1] Barretor — a wrangler, a stirrer up or maintainer of quarrels.

in the pulpit, or elsewhere, against their opinion or practice, when I perhaps did not so much as thinke of those societies. They had long before this engaged me in a dispute with the Separatists[1] in Bowdon-Parish, by bringing them the dreadfull newes that I said in publicke, *They paint the margines of their bookes with Scriptures, which, when they are examined, not one of them, produced for their way as it stands in opposition to other wayes, will prove what it is brought for, and particularly that* 2 *Cor.* vi. 17. *doth not command separation* (c) *from our churches as false.* This is nothing but what is ordinarily charged upon them by others in print, as Mr. Bell, Mr. Edward Leigh, &c.,[2] and what every conscientious man that is not of their way must needs beleeve; for can any such man thinke any points well proved by one scripture, and not so farre conforme to them? Or beleeve that scripture commands separation from our church,[3] and remaine still in communion with them? Yet this caused for a time a paper-scuffle betweene their teacher and me, but I pressing him to make good the charge they had so oft given in against our churches, (viz. that they were false,) both in print and otherwise, and assigned it as the reason why they had forsaken our communion, wherein they did formerly partake, he refused to do it, and that worke ceased.

But now they had another partie to engage me with. Two or three ruling elders of Mr. Samuel Eaton's congregationall-church, and divers others, all under the notion of gifted[4] persons, preached

[1] Bowdon is the adjoining parish to Rostherne, or Rotherston as it is here always called, and from Sir George Booth being the great man of the parish conformity to the new Establishment in religion might have been looked for in that district; but the Separatists were found to be very numerous and very troublesome, as appears from this and subsequent statements.

[2] Edward Leigh, Esq., M.A., who was member of the House of Commons during the Usurpation, was a very learned writer on theological subjects. His book styled "Critica Sacra: or, Philologicall and Theologicall Observations upon all the Greek words of the New Testament," the Editor considers still to be a very valuable and useful work. He wrote a book on the Twelve Cæsars, and many other large treatises. It is not easy to ascertain which of his books is here referred to; perhaps "Saints' Encouragement in Evil Times," &c. Lond. 1648, 8vo.

[3] Qy., churches?

[4] "Gifted persons," were persons who had no ordination of any kind, but who

frequently at Tabley Chapell in my parish, among those that joyned with the rest in giving me the call to Rotherston, acknowledged me to be their pastour, and expected from me that I should baptize their children upon that account, as accordingly I did. That chappell belonged to two gentlemen, lords of the soile, which since have taken it downe and disposed of the materialls. This worke
(d) gratified the novellists by varietie, the inhabitants of Tabley with ease having preaching at their doores that cost them nothing, and the preachers with an opportunity to fish for fry (though they catcht not many) towards the new storing their poole at home, that sport being much spoiled near their owne doores. I declared against the obliquity of their designe, and irregularity of their practice, which none of them would undertake to justifie, save one, nor he by writing, nor any other way but a publick verball dispute. I thought this savoured not of overmuch modestie in a man that could scarce
(e) write true English, and could not understand a sentence of Latine, onely had good naturall parts, yet I consented provided we might have one moderator or more, chosen by mutuall consent, to keep us to the businesse without roveing, which I feared in a man of his breeding, notaries to take our arguments and answers in writing to prevent misreports, and the question beforehand truely stated. Many letters passed betweene us before I could get him to understand me as to moderators and notaries, and returne any pertinent answer. At last he yielded the substance as to them. But when we should state the question, he was (as I thought) most unreasonable, for the true state of the controversie, according to their practice,
(f) was this : — *Whether gifted brethren might lawfully preach to such as were under the pastorall care of another against his declared mind.* This he would in no wise admit. The question must be onely touching the lawfullnesse of the preaching of gifted brethren, and in at the bargaine, too, I must give him free leave to question anything that he disliked in my practice as a Presbyterian.

supposed themselves to be moved to the office of preaching by the special influence of the Holy Spirit. These have always been found thorns in the sides of Establishments.

I told him this was very unreasonable, for though I was not ashamed (nor, as I hoped, unable) to defend mine owne practice against him, yet what had he to doe to question mee, while I kept within the compasse of the church whereunto I was called, and did not in the least disturbe his pastour or the church he belonged to, or any member of it, save such as were aggressors upon me? As for his preaching as a gifted brother, though I was unsatisfied of the lawfullnesse of it, yet I had never meddled concerning it till he came to preach among my people, and therefore the true question was as I had stated it, and contained all matters of offence betweene us; yet I offered to give him the meeting before judicious persons (chosen by consent) to state the question before our publicke meeting, and if I did not punctually prove both that I was pastour to that people, and that I had sufficiently manifested my dislike of his preaching there, the question should be as he stated it. When this would not doe I complained to his pastour, Mr. Eaton, how I was served, who sent me a civill answer, but not satisfactory, as I made bold to tell him roundly (though lovingly) in my replie. But indeed the good (g) man could not helpe it, they would doe what they listed, and one of these famous preachers being restrained, flew off and presently turned Anabaptist.[1]

At last I resolved to doe mine owne duty, come on it what would, trusting God with the successe. I preacht at Tabley on a Lord's (h) day, and towards the close of my afternoone's sermon I complained of the disorder, answered all the materiall arguments I had met with for the preaching of gifted men, not intending the ministry, showed the irregularity of such men's thrusting their sickle into my harvest, and the true state of the question which I offered to maintaine, charging them, as their pastour, not to encourage such intruders.

Not long after comes mine antagonist, and said a deale (as I was

[1] What a picture of perplexity! It seems that Adam had to contend with one who would neither agree with him as to the ground of dispute, nor understand when he was beaten. Adam's boldness in entering on a debate in which triumph was impossible, is above all praise.

told) concerning the preaching of gifted men, but was too wise to meddle with the charge of intrusion. I never saw any copie of his discourse, nor much cared for it, resolving to despise it, for it was not fit to make a chappell into a cock-pit, nor stand contending for (i) the last word. All the while these things were going on there were some weake (and worse) people enflaming the dissension, and amongst the rest one ancient man that owned me for his pastour, yet made it his businesse to talk against me to these itinerant preachers; for which my good friend Mr. P. F. (though he sometimes heard them (j) himselfe) gave him a round checke. But enough of this.

Section ii.

Within the compasse of this seven yeares it pleased God to give us four children, two sonnes and two daughters, and to take two of (k) them againe to himselfe within that time, and another the next yeare after. And though the times of their respective births, deaths, and burialls be scattered through many yeares, yet I intend to set them downe here together before I mention other businesse.

1. My sonne John was borne at the Vicarage of Rotherston, March 3d, 1651, died there August 23d, 1659, and was buried in the chancell belonging to the church there, the 25th of the same. He was so ripe a child for wit, memory, and forwardnesse in learning and religion for his yeares, that I dare not particularly say of him neither what I know nor what I can yet prove, for it is scarce credible in how short a time I could have taught him to say a Greeke verse by heart of which he understood not one word, and to pronounce it gracefully, and how long he would have retained it perfectly without ever saying one word more to him. A neighbour (l) minister hearing him examined in his English rules and grammar, wisht me to set my heart off him, for he was too forward to live. And so it proved, for being taken with the small pox betweene the seventh and eighth yeares of his age, though they came out kindly and very thicke, they began to fall in the head, (which is a signe of the distemper going inward,) and he grew very ill, and rushing up in the pangs of death his mother asked him what he would doe;

he answered he would pray, and accordingly did, and then immediately threw himselfe downe upon his bed and died. (m)

I was gone to Chester when he died, my businesse being urgent, and he in a hopefull way of recovery when I set out, (at least as we thought,) and being there I had an irresistable impression upon my spirit that I must needs go home that night, (though I could not ghesse why, for I did not in the least suspect his death,) so that I left some considerable businesse undone which I could have brought to an (n) head the next day, and went home that evening, where I found a sad distracted family that needed much consolation and assistance from me; and I do verily beleeve that strong impression was from some angell that God employed to helpe on that worke.

2. My daughter Mary was borne at the same place, May 26, 1654, died Aprill 10, 1658, and on the 12th was buried by her little brother next named, as her owne desire was. She was a very wittie child, (for her age,) but after his death she seemed utterly to despise life, and would frequently talke of heaven and being buried by him. (o)

3. Nathan, my third sonne, was borne there, December 2, 1656, he was a sweet beautifull babe, but died March 18th following, and on the 20th was buried in the said chancell.

Martha, my third daughter, was borne there, Feb. 28, 1657, and is yet alive, and lives comfortably, (praised be God,) of whom more hereafter.[1]

Section iii.

The first of these gifts was followed within a little while with a (p) sad losse of my dear brother Henry, who died that summer, 1652, and was buried at Warrington.

He was an eminently godly man and excellent workeman, a great husband, and a most kind brother to me. One specimen whereof was this: when I came out of Liverpool freed from prison, but bare

[1] Nothing can be more amiable, or even affecting, than Martindale's attachment to his children. His trials in his family were of the severest description.

in clothes and money, he furnished me handsomely at his owne charge, though his owne circumstances were then but hard. And (q) though I afterward requited this his kindnesse to himselfe and the sonne he left behind him, it was then, (as things stood with him and me,) an extraordinary courtesie.

Section iv.

About the beginning of the yeare 1653 the opinions that were rampant in the armie infected also the countrey, and some belonging to the Church of Duckenfield (so called) were thought to be deeply (r) tainted. Mr. Eaton, thinking to search the sore to the bottome, propounded a good large number of questions for his people to answer; which were brought into my parish when I was sicke. The people that were most eminent for profession of religion, being enured to keepe up worke-day-conferences, began to consider of them, and had gone through the first question, concerning the doctrine of the Trinity,[1] before I was able to keepe them company; but at the second (which was concerning the divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit) I came in to their helpe. And our way was this: every one that was able brought in his answer in writing, to which, if any thing considerable was added by word of mouth, it was noted downe at the meetinge. Then the papers were delivered to me, to draw up all that was pertinent into one, adding what I thought further usefull. This being finished, the number of copies desired was very great, and of writers that could copie them out truly so small, and (considering withall that this little thing might probably be usefull to many in other parts) we thought best to print it, and published it was, with my preface and name to it, and this is the true history of the birth of that little Axiomaticall Catechisme called *An Antidote against the Poyson of the Times.*[2] When this came abroad, a neighbour minister that seemed satisfied with the doctrine of it, yet tooke occasion to admonish me of two things —

[1] It seems that the doctrine of the Trinity, even at this early period, was considered to be "an open question."

[2] I have not been able to procure a copy of this tract.

1. Unadvisednesse in publishing such a catechisme and with such a title, which (as the times were) might bring mischief upon my selfe.

2. Illogicallnesse, in that I sometimes argued against unsound (s) opinions from the silence of scripture.

To the first of these nothing was to be answered, but, *Jacta est alea*, I was like to take my venture; but no harme followed on it; no, ne'er so much as any answer, saving a little flurt of Mr. Fisher[1] (scarce worth taking notice of) against that part concerning the morality of the Sabbath; yet, that it might not mislead the simple, (he having much misrepresented my sense,) I drew up a full reply to him, (yet lying by me,) being prevented of publishing it by a full treatise of Dr. Collins[2] against him. But as to the later I made bold to tell my brother,

1. That the argument he excepted against never went alone, but still was backed with others against which no such exception could be taken.

2. That severall Christian Logicians affirmed, that though an argument from humane testimonie or authority would not hold negatively, but onely affirmatively, an argument from divine testimonie or authority would hold both affirmatively and negatively, quoting the places in Crakenthorp's Fasciculus, and two or three

[1] A Christian Caveat to the Old and New Sabbatarians: or, a Vindication of our Gospel Festivals. By Edward Fisher, Esq. (5th Edit.) London, 1653, 4to. 70 pages. One of the broad lines of demarkation between the Church and the various forms of dissent, at that period, was the great question as to the proper way of observing Sunday; the former looking upon it as a solemn Festival, and the latter considering it a day to be devoted exclusively to the observance of religious exercises. The Sabbatarians were a sect which entertained extreme views on this subject.

[2] Dr. Collinges, for such was his name, was of Eman. Coll. Camb., and a native of Essex. The scene of his ministry was the city of Norwich. He was one of the Commissioners at the Savoy, and very desirous for accommodation. His works are numerous. The one here referred to is, Responsaria ad Erratica Piscatoris: or, a Caveat for Old and New Prophanenesse. By way of reply to two over-confident Pamphlets; the one called a Caveat for Old and New Sabbatarians, Published by Edward Fisher, Esq. The other called Festorum Metropolis, Published by an Unknown Author. By John Collinges, Master of Arts, and Preacher of the Gospel at Norwich. London, 4to. 1653, 144 pages.

good authours more. But, indeed, to reject a position in divinity because it wants scripture-warrant, is not properly to argue negatively, but privatively; because, if it be a divine truth, it ought to be found in Scripture, expressly or by consequence; and *non credi-*
(t) *mus quiâ non legimus*, we beleeve it not because we have not read it, was a good argument against heretickes in the mouthes of the ancients many hundred yeares agoe.

Section v.

In September, 1653, at a meeting of ministers at Wilmeslow, the 14th day of that month, a motion was made, and a letter drawne to invite many other ministers to give them the meeting at Knutsford on the 20th of October, being the exercise day, as accordingly many did; and there they agreed upon a voluntary association of themselves and their churches, if it could be done, for mutuall advice
(u) and strengthening one another. Into this societie I quickly after fell, and met with much comfort and assistance; but by this meanes our worke was encreased by meeting frequently about classicall businesse, and preaching in our turnes a lecture when we so met.

If it be asked how I got satisfaction to act with them now, when I had scrupled some things concerning classicall governement at the time of my being at Gorton, I answer, the case was not the same.
(v) Here was onely a voluntary association of such as were desirous to advise and assist one another, nor did we look upon ourselves as having any pastorall inspection over one anothers' congregations; but onely to be helpefull to them in a charitable way: we pretended not to any power to convent any before us, or suppresse any minister because dwelling in such a place, within such a verge, and differing from us in practice.

(w) I had time enough to studie things out at leasure, and so to satisfy myselfe, 1. Concerning deacons, that the Church might well be without them if their work were otherwise well done; it was so in the Church of Jerusalem till the Grecians' widows were neglected, Acts, vi. 1; and had they been well supplied, probably the Church had beene without them longer, (who knows how long,) for they

were appointed to remedie that evill. Our Christian magistrates have appointed overseers of the poor for parishes in generall, and as for the poore communicants, if there be anything to be distributed among them, the elders may well enough be trusted with it, as they (x) were with a greater matter in the Church of Jerusalem,[1] Acts, xi. 30:

2. As to the ordination of elders it was mainely their owne concerne, and they were satisfied with choice by the people and approbation by the Classis; besides, in that mild way of discipline that we were resolved to take, little use was to be made of them, but as of leading Christians of the congregations.

3. That suspension would keep the Lord's Supper from pollution as well as excommunication, and we might consider in time whether some notorious sinners remaining obstinate might be cast out, and if that could not be done we were excusable if we did what we could. Besides, having fully satisfied myselfe (by studying the point as (y) throughly as I was able) that excommunication doth not null a man's Christianity, (for such a one, restored upon his repentance, is not to be re-baptized,) but onely puts a personall barre upon a man's present capacity of enjoying some Christian priviledges; much lesse can it destroy any right that his child hath from remote Christian parents, which an eminent congregationall man, Mr. Norton,[2] in his Answer to Apollonius, grants may convey a title to the child of immediate parents, though unbelievers: even the children of persons (z) excommunicate must not, for that reason, be debarred from baptisme. And upon this supposition (saving onely the solemnity and terror) I see not what the greater excommunication would doe more towards (aa) the purging of a congregation then the lesse excommunication, which name many divines bestow upon suspension.

Section vi.

The ministers of the Classis, being now formed, went on freely upon such worke as was brought before them, received ministers

[1] The reader will bear in mind, that the Deacons and Elders here referred to are not spiritual, but civil officers. The wish to dispense with the one, and have as little as possible to do with the other class of church officers, is characteristic.

[2] The title of this book of Mr. Norton's is, Resp. ad Guil. Apollonii Syllogen ad componendas Controversias in Anglia. Lond. 1648, 8vo.

into their association, approved of ruling elders, and ordained severall ministers for the congregations of Goosetree, Knutsford, and Chelford (and afterwards others). Our congregation was somewhat backward to make any use of them, having in it many of the Independent judgement, yet at length, in July, 1655, six ruling elders were chosen, whereof three onely accepted the choise and were approved by the Classis. Not long after I published in the congregation the termes whereon persons might be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which were these: — 1. All, whose knowledge and good conversation we were alreadie acquainted with, should be admitted upon tendering themselves without any more adoe. 2. Concerning persons whose conversation we knew not, we expected certificates from such known persons of good repute as we could trust. 3. For persons that we were not satisfied but they might be incapable through ignorance of benefiting themselves by that ordinance, and eat and drinke judgement to themselves, not discerning
(bb) the Lord's body; we desired to be acquainted, some way or other, (but limited them not to examination as the onely way,) that they were capable of understanding what was absolutely necessary to a worthy communicant.

These termes were approved as rationall and moderate by many; onely the proud, the grossely ignorant, (especially if ancient,) and the scandalous, liked not these termes. Among the rest, one young fellow, that had newly married a wife that he had got with child a considerable time before, desired to be examined in order to admis-
(cc) sion. I told him the maine hindrance of his present admission was the scandal he lay under, and that if he were then accepted it would deprive us of many lowly persons; but if he would have patience to waite a while till we had peaceably laid our foundation, he should be delt with as tenderly as would consist with faithfulnesse. But this answer not pleasing him, the next newes we heard of him was, that he had fallen in with the Quakers.[1] Being

[1] Though the whole of this portion of Martindale's narrative, with regard to his ministerial difficulties and polemical controversies, furnishes many tempting topics of observation, and might be fully illustrated from contemporary history, yet, as the Editor's object is simply to explain what may be obscure to the common

startled with this, I speedily went to visit him, and so did my neighbour Mr. Peter Fearnehead.[1] He excused himselfe as yet raw (dd) in that way, and we offered him to dispute the case at his owne house before a few select friends with the ablest he could procure; but nothing would serve their turne but a publicke disputation on (ee) Knutsford-Heath, which we undertooke, Mr. Thomas Partington coming in to our assistance. They had got to their champion the famous Richard Hubberthorne,[2] well-knowne by his printed pamphlets, and (to speake truth,) the most rationall calme-spirited man of his judgement that I was ever publickly engaged against, besides divers inferiour disputants that they did not so much confide in. Yet for all his dexterity we clearly proved against him the following points, by plaine scriptures, vindicated from all his sophisticall (ff) evasions, false glosses, and subterfuges.

1. That the doctrines of men pretending to be guided by the Spirit ought to be examined by the holy scriptures. Acts, xvii. 11; Isa. viii. 20; 1 John, iv. 1.

2. That the common light that is in every man is not sufficient to bring a man to eternall salvation, though attended and waited on, for if it was a naturall light which they ment, it was not saving, 1 Cor. ii. 14; if a spirituall light, every man hath it not, John, xiv. 17; Jude, 19; Rom. viii. 9.

3. That men received the spirit in Gospell times, not by waiting on the light within, (for of that they could not give one instance,) but upon a sent ministerie. Acts, x. 44, and xix. 6; Gal. iii. 2.

4. That none can be so pure in spirit, soul, and bodie, as to be free from sin, and fullfill all righteousnesse that God requires. Prov. xx. 9; Eccles. vii. 20; 1 John, i. 8.

reader, he gladly escapes from the discussion of these perplexing theological questions, more especially as Adam's narrative of his own troubles and bewilderments is thoroughly *intelligible*.

[1] This gentleman is probably the P. F. mentioned at the end of Section I. Among the "Charterers in Mere, 1666," occurs the name of "Peter Fearnhead of Mere for Grantham's Lands."— *Hist. of Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 360.

[2] "The famous Richard Hubberthorne" wrote A True Testimony of the Zeal of Oxford Professors and University-men. Lond. 1654, 4to. "A Collection of his several Books and Writings" was published in 1663, 4to.

5. That Baptisme with water (which they reject) is a Gospell ordinance. Acts, viii. 36, 37, 38, and x. 47, 48. We offered to prove the like concerning the Lord's Supper, (which they also neglect,) but time was so farre spent by the Quaker's tergiversations in the former questions to have drawne us off from their true scope, that we were forced to give over.

This was the most calme, methodicall, and usefull dispute with that sort of people at which I was ever present. That at Shaddow-Moss[1] upon Christmasse day before was but a confused meeting to it. We had then to deale with ramblers and railers, whose logick and rhetorick was scurrilous and spitefull language, and we did not then
(gg) so well know (I am sure I did not) the way of dealing with such unreasonable people as afterwards. That at Swettenham (which followed not longer after this of ours) was most notably and triumphantly managed by the chiefe opponent, Mr. Samuel Langley,[2] minister of that place. But the rise of it being from a frivolous contumelious letter of a neighbour Quaker, a great part of the day was spent upon questions of small moment; as, 1. Whether it were not a wrong to call a church by the name of a steeple-house? 2. Whether our pulpits be equivalent to the chiefe seates of the synagogues affected by the Scribes and Pharisees? 3. Whether we were called Masters in the sence by our Saviour forbidden? 4. Whether tythes were due to be paid? 5. Whether respect to persons of quality were not that respect of persons reproved by St. James, ch. ii. 1, &c.[3] But the questions managed by us at Knutsford-Heath
(hh) concerned the very vitalls of their cause, and these closely brought home without a foule word. And the successe, through the mercie of God, was in some good measure answerable, for the auditors

[1] Shadow Moss is still a wild and uncultivated portion of the parish of Northenden, not very far from the confines of the parish of Rostherne. What an appropriate name, and fitting place, for such a polemical conflict; however much one may regret that such a day was selected for the gladiatorial encounter!

[2] For an account of Mr. Samuel Langley, see note at page 78.

[3] It must have been especially galling to the "ministers" of the parish churches, to have to defend themselves, as the present possessors, against the very same weapons which they themselves had so often wielded against their predecessors, the Rectors and Vicars of the Church.

went away generally satisfied; some Quakers convinced to that degree, that one stiffe one confessed, if he had not beene in that way alreadie, what he heard that day would not have perswaded him to embrace it. As for the wretched young man that occasioned all this trouble, he went off in our company, acknowledged Hubberthorne was baffled, not because of any want of parts, (for he applauded his abilities,) but for want of a good cause; came againe to our church assemblies, and private conference in my family, (at the least once,) and if we could in conscience and prudence have admitted him forthwith to the Supper of the Lord among us, I little doubt but he would have stucke to us; but because we durst not doe evil that good might come, and the Quakers plied him constantly in private, (ii) he fell off finally to them. After this I was severall times affronted by some of that gang at mine owne church and elsewhere, and pelted with their furious papers from Chester, Stafford, Warrington, &c.; but by the good hand of my God, though things were thus blustering, all was serene and calme within, not onely in my conscience, but also in the societie.

Section vii.

We agreed in our Classis, by mutuall consent, upon such rules for the administration of Baptisme and the Lord's Supper, as also of the solemnization of matrimonie, as my religious neighbours seemed well pleased with. And as for transactions among ourselves, we never disputed about the power of church-guides, nor libertie of the brethren. For smaller matters, that came of course, they were willing enough the officers should dispatch without troubling the societie. And for those that were weightier, as receiving in new communicants, or suspending any from the communion that had beene before admitted, (which I thinke was but twice used, and that in cleare cases of scandall, and with good successe,) we allwayes tooke their consent along with us, which we used to aske after the sacrament, or at a weeke-day conference. And so unanimous we were, that (jj) though most of all the communicants that were accounted the chiefe for parts and pietie leaned much towards the congregationall way of

church government, and some of them for their naturall tempers peevish enough, and great admirers, not onely of Mr. Eaton, but of
(kk) diverse of his gifted members, yet I cannot remember that so much as one of them forsooke us, or that we had any breach or considerable controversie among us, but we went sweetly and comfortably so long as libertie continued.

Section viii.

In the meane time, in the yeare 1655, I bought the title of George Holme, of Rotherston, yeoman, in this house, within High Leigh, wherein I now dwell, and in 1657 I contracted with the Lord (Peter Leigh, of High Leigh, Esq.)[1] for a new lease during the life of my wife and the lives of my two eldest sonnes; but they are bothe dead long agoe, their mother (blessed be God) being yet alive, (long may she
(ll) soe continue,) and the younger above twenty yeares before the older. It is but a little thing, yet I desire heartily to praise God for the helpe I have had from it in the time of my distresse, and such sure (though meane) provision for my poore faithfull wife, (that hath suffered so much with me,) if she overlive me, as I hope she may.

Two things in reference to this affair I have much thought of, as very remarkable: —

1. Having not money enough of mine owne to pay for this
(mm) tenement, I tooke up a considerable summe, to be paid off yearely in the way of mart, and it pleased God to continue my vicarage-incomes to me till that mart money was all paid, and then it failed; which if it had beene sooner, while that was in paying, my case had beene much harder.

2. Though my landlord before mentioned was a godly-wise man, a member of our societie, and my speciall friend, insomuch that so long as he lived after I was outed at Rotherston he freely gave me 40 shillings per annum, (his estate not being very great, and deeply

[1] For an account of the family of Legh, of West Hall in High Legh, see Ormerod, vol. i. p. 350. "Peter Legh, of West Hall, who was never married, died A.D. 1665; and was succeeded by his brother Richard, who also died unmarried in the year 1670, leaving Thomas, his brother, to succeed in his inheritance."

charged with debts, his sister's portion and annuities to many young brothers,) and diverse other kindnesses; and though he might have spared all this, and gotten some money to his purse, and withall have done me a farre greater courtesie in putting me a new life into my lease when it was broken by the death of my younger son, upon reasonable termes, he would not be prevailed with to doe it, for (nn) feare (forsooth) lest his next brother, who was a single man, had a good estate of his owne, and neither power nor right to controll him for any renewall of leases, should take it unkindly.

Section ix.

As the first of these seven yeares tooke away my good brother Henry, so the last bereaved me of my deare father, who died in the yeare 1658, and was buried by[1] my mother and sister Jane at Prescott, May the 6th. One thing was esteemed very strange, viz. that two of his acquaintance, Mr. Whitfield of Roby, and Mr. Roby of Holland, are said not to differ above halfe a yeare in age from my father, and to die within less than a month of his decease, being all three about 80 yeares old.

His true character I gave in the former part, and shall not here repeat it, onely let me add, that in that sicknesse whereof he died, he sent for me while he was very sensible, and seriously desired me (oo) to advise him to the best as to his eternall state, which, if I had not done, as a minister and his sonne, in a faithfull manner, I had beene exceedingly to blame. How I performed my worke 'tis not fit for me to judge, much lesse to report, and what was the effect God onely knows, but I am not without hopes that he finished his course with joy.

He died (for all his great losses) before-hand in the world, though (pp) in no great personall estate. What he had he left amongst his three surviving children, to whose discretion he wholly left his funerall. But considering how good a father he had beene, and how fashion- (qq) ably he (in the time of his prosperity) had lived among his neighbours, we thought it convenient to bring him home handsomely out

[1] By, *i. e.* beside.

of his owne, and soe we did. For all that came to the house to fetch his corpse thence (beggars not excepted) were entertained with good meat, piping hote, and strong ale in great plentie. Then at (rr) Prescot, when the corpse was interred, and the soules of the auditors feasted with an excellent sermon, preached by Mr. Wright, upon that proper text, Psal. xc. 10, there was a rich dinner readie prepared at a tavern for the kindred, and so many more as a great roome would receive, with plentie of wine and strong drinke, and for all the rest tag and rag sufficient store of such provisions as are usuall at (ss) ordinary burialls. Yet all this came to noe very great matter, being discreetly ordered by such as were employed about it. So that I am verily persuaded that some funeralls have cost twice so much, that have not beene so creditable to the cost-makers.[1]

SOME NOTES

ON THIS LAST CHAPTER.

([a]) Employment enough, and strength to goe through it, sute notably well.

([b]) As dogs set men a fighting, so wicked people use to stirre up strife.

([c]) Some may better steale our horse then others looke ore the hedge.

([d]) It is easier rashly to accuse then to prove an accusation.

([e]) Ignorance makes men confident that know not their owne wants.

([f]) We must be content to beare sometimes unreasonable dealing, even from religious persons.

([g]) It is a miserable thing to be a pastour over unruly persons.

([h]) We must venture upon men's displeasure rather then neglect our duty.

([i]) We must not spend our time in perpetuall contests with unreasonable people.

([j]) Faithfull friends are provoked to displeasure by unworthy back-biters.

([k]) Children are uncertaine comforts.

([l]) Carnall comforts that are soon ripe are soon rotten.

([m]) Pietie can creep in children when it cannot goe.

[1] Adam's (so to call it) family pride shewed itself in the way characteristic of the time — indeed a way not yet extinct — a splendid funeral. His conscience could never have struggled against the record of this extravagance but for the thrifty remark at the conclusion! No Mr. Wright appears among the Incumbents of Prescott.

([n]) Sometimes God doth by strong impressions sway our hearts and actions strangely.

([o]) Some children are taught by God to sleight the world as much as others to love it.

([p]) We must expect a mixture of crosses with our comforts.

([q]) The season wherein favours are shewed sometimes magnifies and multiplies them.

([r]) Ministers should be carefull over their people, that they be sound in the faith.

([s]) In God's cause courage is commendable, and doth not alwayes bring trouble.

([t]) Doctrines not grounded on Scripture are to be rejected.

([u]) Good advice is needful and profitable.

([v]) Things that seem to be the same to unwary people may differ vastly.

([w]) Time helpes to satisfie such as hurrying haste confounds.

([x]) If things be well done, it makes no great matter who doth it.

([y]) God oft accepts the will for the deed.

([z]) Scruples and prejudices are remoras to good workes.

([aa]) It is a vaine thing to make more adoe then needs.

([bb]) If the substance be obtained 'tis to little purpose to stand upon mere formalities.

([cc]) Men that are not sufficiently sensible of their sin are apt to obtrude themselves when they are unfit for an ordinance.

([dd]) We should make haste to prevent seducers ere it be too late.

([ee]) Its no newes to find Heretickes impudent.

([ff]) He had need of great parts indeed that offers to withstand cleare scripture truths.

([gg]) Experience is the mother of wisdome.

([hh]) There's little benefit to be got by discussing trivial questions, but we should earnestly contend for the faith once delivered to the saints.

([ii]) Those that dare venture upon sin have great carnall advantages above them that dare not.

([jj]) Union and unanimity much strengthen others.

([kk]) We may easier promote union by self deniall than by disputes.

([ll]) Those that in the course of nature are likely to live longest oft go first.

([mm]) God sometimes sutes his Providences graciously to our necessities.

([nn]) That we may not trust in men, sometimes they most faile us we know not why.

([oo]) Thoughts of death quicken to seriousnesse.

(pp) It is God's will that some men shall neither attaine to riches nor sinke into povertie.

(qq) Children should show their gratitude to the memory of their good parents.

(rr) There is no compleat feast if the soule be not provided for as well as the bodie.

(ss) Prudence saves that handsomely, which indiscretion spends vainely.

AN APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

WHICH MAY PASSE FOR A TENTH SECTION.

Within the compasse of this septennium, in the yeare 1656, the ministers of our Classis and many others of our neighbours agreed upon some propositions about the worke of personall instruction (as many in other counties did). Multitudes of little catechismes we caused to be printed, designing one for every family in our parishes, and to all, or most, they were accordingly sent. But when we (tt) actually set upon the worke, even such as had but (comparatively) small parishes or chappelries to deale with met with great discouragements, through the unwillingnesse of people (especially the (uu) old ignoramusses) to have their extreme defects in knowledge searched out, the backwardnesse of the prophane to have the smart plaister of admonition applied (though lovingly) to their sores, and the businesse (reall or pretended) left as an excuse why the persons concerned were gone abroad at the time appointed for their instruction. Beside these, the minister of Great Budworth[1] and I had such vast parishes to go through, that multitudes of the people would be dead, in all probability, ere we could goe once over them. He, poore man, was soone excused, by falling into such weaknesse as tooke him off all his worke, publicke and private, and soone after (vv) put an end to his dayes. But I having a tolerably able bodie, resolved upon another course, that is, to preach a catechisticall lecture one end of every Lord's day at Rotherston, in as plaine a manner as I could possibly devise, for the information of the ignorant

[1] It does not appear who this was. Mr. Eaton had been dead for some time; and "ministers" do not, of course, appear in the lists of the Chester clergy.

in the maine bodie of the parish which used to assemble there; and then for the long legs of Leigh and Tabley, that lay further off, I preached the same sermon in the weeke following, upon dayes appointed for that purpose, in the chappells within these large townships, though onely domesticks. This I held up a good while, but being sometimes unavoidably hindred by great funeralls and other indispensable businesse, and much discouraged by the averse-nesse of the gentlemen that were owners of the chappells, who neither affected me nor such kind of worke, and influenced their tenants against me by their absenting themselves and otherwise, though they did not shut up the chappell doores against me, and the people that most needed helpe being backward and carelesse, I at (ww) last was broken off this also.

About the same time came out a strict Act (as it was called)[1] concerning the observation of the Lord's-day, wherein the justices of peace were authorised and enjoyned to appoint a number of persons in every parish to see to the execution of it, upon paine of five pounds for every neglect. They did so, nominating me for one, and commanding their warrant should be read in the publicke congregation; which I did, together with the Act whereon it was grounded, because that did more explicitly declare what were the offences made thereby punishable, that people might not be surprized. Notwithstanding all this, one that should have had more wit and care of his wayes, did that publickly and needlessely in the churchyard, before the face (xx) of the constable and multitudes of others, that we feared was an expresse transgression of our rules, and however clearely of the 4th commandment, as we understood it, and himselfe could not deny.

I expostulated roundly (though mildly) with him why he would doe such a thing without any necessity upon that day, and that with circumstances of time and place, as if he had designed to affront us; (yy) and withall told him he must not expect that we would run the

[1] Martindale was still not very clear as to the authority of Cromwell, whom he had previously styled an usurper. Yet, having taken the Engagement, he felt himself at liberty to carry out this "Act (as it was called)," which in its provisions was stringent enough.

hazard of five pounds a piece to excuse him from paying of his ten shillings, but leave it to a magistrate's judgement what he thought of it; and though we might have justified it, if we had made him a publick example, by causing him to be apprehended as openly in the sight of the congregation as he had offended, yet I onely told the next justice of the peace, (who was favourable enough to him,) and left it there. But for this he was so enraged, that he slandered me up and downe the parish for robbing the poore man's box, for which there was onely this colour: — We used every sacrament-day to have a collection to pay for the bread and wine, and whatever was over we gave it to the poore, though there was noe standing rule so to doe, but 'twas so ordered from time to time, after we had furnished ourselves out of it with some utensills, as a bottle, dishes, &c. and defrayed the charge of exchanging the old bruised plate. Now when personall instruction was coming on, and the charge of bestowing catechismes upon every family was like to be prettie considerable, I desired to have a little of this collection-money for a pious use, of which I would after give them an account, which I did quickely after to the satisfaction of all, and particularly with the full
(zz) approbation of this man that after accused me; and for this (forsooth) I must be publickly traduced as a robber of the poore.[1]

Another scandal of an higher nature than this, viz. of murther, was cast upon me by malicious people at the same time, as groundlessely as the former, and rather more. The case was this: The constable and I being informed by such as we had reason to beleeve would complaine against us if we tooke not notice of their information, that a young woman in the towne had transgressed the very letter of the act, (as indeed she had,) we went to her master and dame, who confessed the thing was so, and aggravated it thus, that the wench did it needlessely, being commanded by her dame to doe that worke overnight that she had done on the Lord's-day. I told them we could not passe it by, but if she was of such an age (I thinke 21)

[1] It is curious to observe how controversies come round! Martindale's exercise of discipline, though well meant, seems to have been bestowed on a generation singularly unprepared to endure it.

she must pay her ten shillings, and if she were under, one of them must give her correction to the satisfaction of the constable, whom I left with them, (having first read to them the clause in the Act that concerned that businesse,) and so went away. After my departure the constable was willing enough to beleeve (though it was false and (az) easy to be disproved) that she was under age, and he himselfe, the master of the house, and another present, being all good fellowes, turned all into a jest; and her master plucking off a small branch of heath from a turfe, therewith gave her two or three such gentle touches on her cloathes, as one present affirmed after (before the justices) would not have hurt an infant of two dayes old, of which the constable accepted, and the young woman going to the well forthwith upon it, made herselfe very merrie among her companions there, that she had scaped with such a ridiculous shadow of punishment; but Providence so ordering it that there was then a very mortall feaver in the towne, this young woman, amongst the rest, fell sicke and died of it. Hence malicious people raised a reporte, which her dame (though she knew it to be false) would not gainesay, but (bz) rather seconded, viz. that *I had caused her to be most cruelly whip't in my presence, the griefe whereof had broken her heart.* Of this I knew nothing till a neighbour justice, Mr. Brereton of Ashley,[1] told (cz) me of it, and gave me an opportunity to cleare myselfe at a month's-meeting in High Leigh, where I did by punctuall witnesses prove that things were thus to a tittle as I have related them here. Now (dz) I thought it full time to vindicate myselfe from these horrid slanders, as I did publickly in the pulpit; yet for all this, many yeares after (ez) a gentlewoman, at her owne table, (how civilly let others judge,) tooke occasion to charge me with this matter, though her owne brother and uncle were two of the gentlemen present when I at the month's-meeting so clearly disproved it. My fault in this affaire (if any) was not crueltie, but too much lenity; for had I searched (fz) out her age and charged the constable to levie ten shillings, no

[1] "Thomas Brereton, of Ashley, Esq., brother and heir of Richard Brereton, Esq., died without issue, and was buried at Bowden in 1660, Æt. 66, leaving his estate to his three sisters." — *Hist. of Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 207.

inconvenience had followed, but the depriving of a knot of drunkards of so much more money to pisse on the walls at her buriall; but being not under the obligation of any oath, and mine owne wife and severall others being importunate with me that I would not search it out, I left it to the constable, and all this mischiefe came of it.

NOTES

ON THIS APPENDIX.

([tt]) Some things prove farre more difficult in the practice then they seemed in the theorie.

([uu]) Those that most need helpe are apt to be most prejudiced against it.

([vv]) Many circumstances so farre differ, that what is possible and a duty to one may be impossible, and so no duty, to another.

([ww]) When we see our worke will not attaine the end, 'tis better to give it over and fall to some other course that is more hopefull.

([xx]) Advantages against sin much aggravate it.

([yy]) Circumstances arguing presumption much aggravate a fault.

([zz]) Fixed wrath brings forth the fruits of malice.

([az]) Those that dare disobey superiours whose lawfull commands they are bound to obey, will be apt, upon a temptation, to sin against God immediately.

([bz]) Not to checke a knowne slander is neare akin to actuall promoting it.

([cz]) It is both just and courteous for those that heare reproaches cast upon the innocent to put them into a way to vindicate themselves.

([dz]) Though we should not be much moved for every vaine story, yet when the credit of a minister is so deeply wounded by slanders as to hazard the successe of his pastorall worke, apologies are both needfull and seasonable, as in St. Paul's case, 2 Cor. xi. &c.

([ez]) Slanders got up are not easily laid againe.

([fz]) By being too mild with offenders, we sometimes occasion great evill to ourselves.

CHAPTER VI.

I. The lease of Tatton Conigree. II. The agreement of Ministers at Manchester. III. My dislike of usurpers. IV. A certificate of my carriage as to Sir George Booth's rising. V. My reasons why I engaged not in it. VI. What I did in order to peace. VII. Our Petitions to the Parliament and Bradshaw. VIII. The reason of a neighbour gentleman's rage against me. IX. The occasion of mine imprisonment. X. Notes upon the precept sent me. XI. Indeavours to ensnare me. XII. Further indeavours. XIII. Mine imprisonment. XIV. Opposition by prophane people. XV. A booke sent for a snare. XVI. An Indictment against me. XVII. The benevolence to the King. XVIII. The Act of Uniformity, and what followed. XIX. Aggravations of my sufferings. XX. My brother Thomas, his death. XXI. My prospering at Camp-greene. XXII. My studying Mathematickes. XXIII. Teaching at Warrington, Preston, &c. XXIV. Some remarkable things.

Section 1.

In the beginning of my 36th yeare Mr. Joseph Allen, Hugh Browne, George Holme, and I, being all at Rotherston, joyned in the taking of a close in Tatton called the Conigree, containing about 42 Cheshire acres, from the Right Honorable Earle of Bridgewater,[1] agreeing among ourselves that Hugh Browne, being a single man, should be the lessee and assigne to us our parts for the terme of the lease, which was for the lives of our three daughters, Elizabeth Martindale, since dead, Eunice Allen and Mary Holme, yet alive. The lease beares date the 3rd day of Aprill, 1659. After which we made a little marle-pit and improved a little of it, to try how the ground and marle would sute, and to make a good watering-place for cattell, and laid a good part in summer worke. This was a pure charge to us at present, but some three yeares after it proved a (a) speciall reliefe to me as shall be related in its due place.

[1] This was John, second Earl of Bridgewater, and grandson of the celebrated Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord High Chancellor of England. He died the 26th Oct. 1686. For a full account of the family, see Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 346, &c.

Section ii.

The 13th of July following there was a meeting of many ministers at Manchester of the Presbyterian perswasion, with others of the Congregationall way, in order to an accommodation;[1] we that were members of the Classis in Cheshire subscribed not, being desirous to have the rest of our associated brethren to goe along with us, but the eminent Presbyterians of Lancashire both approved and subscribed the agreement, viz., Mr. Heyrick, Mr. Angier, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Tilsley, and many others. So did also Mr. Roote,[2] Mr. Samuel Eaton, Mr. Smallwood,[3] Mr. Briscow,[4] Mr. Thomas Jollie, Mr.

[1] In Newcome's Diary is the following entry:—"July 13 [Wednesday]. We had a meeting with the Ministers of the Congregationall way at the Colledge; and we agreed upon several heads of accommodation. I remember Mr. *Tilsley* said, that the Episcopal Principles he could rather accommodate with then theirs, and with their persons and practices for life rather than the other. But this accommodation was set on foot by them; and what we now agreed on was referred to a further meeting. Soone after, when Sir George Booth's busyness fell out, and we all came into danger, *Samaritane*-like they then were unwilling to be the *Jewes* kindred; and were some of them not ashamed to say, that we designed to trapan them into that busyness; when the matter took rise from them; and onely there was a strange coincidence with the other busyness thereupon. I was baited at by many upon this agreement."

[2] There were two ministers of this name, father and son. The father, here mentioned, was one of the earliest of the sect of Independents. He was born in 1590, and educated at Magd. Coll. Camb. He was a candidate for the Chapel of Denton when Mr. Angier was chosen. From thence he went to Halifax, and finally settled at Sowerby. He wrote, in the controversy between the Independents and Presbyterians, a tract entitled "A just Apology for the Church of Duckenfield." He was ejected by the Act of Uniformity. His son Timothy, also an Independent minister, finally conformed in 1685, and had the rectory of Howden.—See Hunter's *Life of Heywood*, p. 212.

[3] Mr. Thomas Smallwood was a Congregationalist, and chaplain successively to Lord Fairfax and Lambert in the army. He held the sequestered Living of Batley till he was ejected in 1660. He then preached at Idle, and died near Wakefield in 1667, aged 60.

[4] Mr. Michael Briscoe was a distinguished member of the Congregational party. He was first at Walmesley Chapel in this county, from whence he removed to Toxteth Park, where he died in 1685, at the great age of 96.

Jeremie Marsden,[1] and Mr. Robert Birch,[2] of the congregationall partie.

The Propositions (according to my copie) are as followeth: —

I. We agree that all persons that are admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall have these qualifications:

1. They shall have a competent knowledge of the principles of religion, and be sound in the faith.

2. They shall be such as live without scandal.

3. Such as maintaine the exercises of Christianity, viz. prayer in and instruction of their families, reading the word, carefull sanctification of the Lord's day, and the like knowne duties in Scripture; according to which rule (since the Reformation) we conceive we have walked, and (God assisting) doe intend to continue so.

II. It is further agreed, that we hold communion in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in each other's congregations as there may be occasion, upon the recommendation or personal knowledge of such members of our congregations as may desire it.

III. It is agreed, that if there have beene any deviating, or shall be for the future, from the character above mentioned, the persons thereat offended, having discharged their owne duties, shall give notice to the churches, that there may be orderly proceeding therein against the parties offending.

IV. It is agreed, that such persons as are qualified with sutable gifts and graces for the ministrie, and have had due triall and approbation by preaching elders, shall be allowed of amongst us. And for the future time, after like triall, there shall be an imposition of hands upon such as are to undertake a pastorall charge.

V. That none shall preach amongst us but such as are approved by preaching officers, (expectants excepted,) and that we shall not

[1] For an account of Mr. Jeremiah Marsden, who was educated at Manchester school, who left a MS. account of his life, entitled *Contemplatio Vitæ Miserabilis*, and whose whole life seems "to have been a perfect peregrination," see *Non-Conformist's Mem.* vol. iii. p. 421.

[2] Mr. Robert Birch held Birch Chapel. After his ejection he commenced physician and surgeon.

disturb each other's congregations by imposing upon them preachers unordained, and that we will use our indeavour that no offence be given by the preaching of meere gifted brethren.[1]

VI. We also agree to preach in each other's congregations, and to meet together for advice as occasion may require.

VII. And in cases of offence it is also agreed, that such matters be heard and determined by a meeting of delegates equally chosen on both sides.

VIII. We also agree that we will lay to heart all our unnecessary
(b) distances and unbrotherly carriages one towards another, engage in this accommodation in all unfeigned love and stedfast resolution, pray one with and for another, and lay aside to our utmost all words and carriages that may violate or prejudice our Christian communion.

IX. We, concurring in these things ourselves, do promise to com-
(c) municate the same to others whom they may concerne, and so after

[1] "Mere gifted brethren" were treated, especially by the Presbyterial section of these contracting parties, even down to a much later period than this, as sad intruders upon the sacred calling. The following adventure is recorded of Oliver Heywood, (1682,) which is at once edifying and amusing: — "Upon Wednesday morning, June 28, came Ralph Leeming, one that had been my servant, to invite me to his father's funeral, old Joseph Blamire, at Bradford; but I told him I was for Lancashire that day. 'I hear Ralph,' said I, 'you are turned a preacher!' He said ,'There are few preachers, now-a-days, but readers, expounders.' I asked him 'What call he had?' He said, 'He had a call from God.' I told him 'He must have either an *ordinary* call, and then he must be tried by such as had discerning; or *extraordinary*, and then let him show it by extraordinary gifts and miracles.' He said, 'A man is fittest to judge of his call,' &c. I told him what the Apostle said, 1 Cor. vii. 20, 'Let every man abide in his calling.' I told him of his calling to be a cloth-miller, then he presumed to be a physician, and now a preacher, which I knew he was not fit for. He said, 'I was not his judge; that Paul was a tent-maker and preacher; so might he follow all these callings.' I told him 'Paul was an apostle, not of men, nor by man, an extraordinary person, not fit to be imitated.' Thus he and I talked a considerable time at the gates. God put me into an unusual heat: (1.) to protest against the course he was taking, and told him he sinned in it, and God would not bless him in presuming upon such a weighty work without a call; (2.) I reminded him of his former profession, above twenty years ago, when he lived with me; and, indeed, I fear he hath lost that religion he seemed once to have." — Hunter's *Life of O. Heywood*, p. 313.

our next meeting, which is to be the fourth Thursday in September, there may be an acting according to this agreement.

These things we agree unto, reserving to ourselves our owne principles.

Section iii.

How happie had it beene, both for themselves and me, had both parties beene of such a sweet condiscending frame 13 yeares before, (d) when I first went to Gorton; but time, afflictions, and dangers helpe to mollifie men's spirits. Now both sides seemed desirous of union, but it was too late. Opportunities for it were frequent before, but now noe more to be had, for before this desirable day in September came, whence actuall communion was to commence, all was on wheeles in these two counties by the rising of Sir George Boothe[1] and his partie, in the beginning of August, 1659; concerning which I was much misrepresented and traduced as an enemie to it, and devoted to the interest of the fag-end of the old Parliament, called the Rump, which, after the death of Oliver Cromwell and the setting up and deposing of his sonne Richard was againe sat in the saddle. But the truth is, had I been so affected I could easily have spoiled all the sport, for I knew of it (though not just when it would be) a good while before, as my revered brother, Mr. Henry Newcome[2] of

[1] With regard to this movement of the Presbyterian party in favour of Charles, and against the Rump, so much appears in the general history of England, that it can hardly be necessary in this place to enter into the subject much at length. Much also may be found in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 403, and in other parts. See also Collins' *Peerage*, ed. 1768, or Clarendon, Book vii. For his loyal services on this occasion Sir George Booth had, on the Restoration, the sum of ten thousand pounds voted to him by parliament, and the title of Baron Delamere conferred on him by the crown. The best account of this movement that has yet appeared is contained in this narrative of Adam Martindale's.

[2] Of Henry Newcome, whom Adam here styles his revered friend, as a full account will appear in his memoirs of himself about to be edited by the Chetham Society, a very short account is all that is necessary in this place, though were it to be in any degree proportioned to his merits or the important position which he held in his party, it ought to be considerably enlarged. His father, Stephen Newcome, M.A., was born at Ely, where his father was schoolmaster. Newcome's father was Rector of Caldcot in Huntingdonshire, where Henry was born, the

Manchester, very well knowes, and could with a post-letter have easily prevented all. But I had, long before that, often shewed my

fourth of seven sons, in Nov. 1627. He was educated at St. John's College in Cambridge, and whilst keeping a school at Congleton in Cheshire, married, in 1648, "Mrs. Elizabeth Manwareing, daughter of Mr. Peter Manwareing of Smallwood." Through the influence of his wife's family he obtained the Living of Gausworth in Cheshire in the year 1650. In 1656 he succeeded Mr. Hollinworth as one of the ministers of the Collegiate Church at Manchester during the Usurpation; was an unsuccessful candidate for a Fellowship at the Restoration; and refusing to take the oaths required by the Act of Uniformity, the Meeting House, now called Cross-street Chapel, was built for him by his friends, in which he preached till his death, and where he was buried Sept. 20, 1695, aged 68. He brought up three of his sons, during his lifetime, to the Church, who were respectively Rectors of Tattenhall, Aldenham, and Middleton. His descendants have been ministers of the Church for eight successive generations, down to the present time; and though Mr. Hunter, in his *Life of Oliver Heywood*, states that they, "like others of Presbyterian extraction were of the *liberal* class of Divines," I have the authority of his last descendant and representative, the present Rector of Shenley, to state that they have always belonged to the Orthodox or High Church school. All these points, however, will be explained in the forthcoming memoir of the excellent and eloquent Henry Newcome, which will present a volume full of interest and information to the local antiquary, and the student of the history of the great civil and religious movements of the 17th century.

That Newcome was, as Martindale hints, deeply in the secret of Sir George Booth's movement, appears from his Diary. He says: "I had indeed by Mr. *Harrison* understood upon Sir *George Boothe* his coming down, that there was a designe to take armes. I could not but in conscience approve the thing. The Usurpation and Insolency's of the Army being so gross and intollerable as they were. But my unskillfulness in these affaires made me silent altogether in the thing. But on the Lord's Day, July 31, [1659,] Mr. *Stockport* being resolved to give some notice of the business, I discoursed with him about it (and Mr. *Heyricke* absenting himselfe from the Church this day, though he knew of the business as well and as soone as I) I was unwilling to have had it begun as it was. He told me he was resolved to invite the people to armes upon the score of the *Quakers* being up. I did know that they were very Insolent and Troublesome, yet was unsatisfied that the thing was true that they were up in armes; and his grounds were not sufficient to persuade a beliefe in me of the certainty of it, and so I told him. I was as cordial for the business as any man, but I was resolved I would, if I knew it, in the best cause, deale with nothing but truth; and further than that would go with me I would trust God with it, who needeth not my lye. But after I had done the Afternoone sermon, he called out for Armes to purpose, and told all and more about the Quakers, and in very unwary expressions, which after were retorted on us with no small reflections. Great was the confusion among the people upon it....

dissatisfaction with that Protean vagrant governement by a succession of usurpers; and went so farre as to say, from the bottom of my heart, that if I were sure that the usurpers would continue my libertie, (as they had hitherto done,) and that a king and a free parliament would throw me out, (as I supposed they would,) yet, if the business lay upon my single vote, I would vote for the king and a free parliament, as the only governement for the regular making and execution of lawes under which I could comfortably act and suffer. The substance of this, and (so neare as I can remember) in these very words, I uttered, to the offence of some at Mr. Hugh Leigh's house of Meire-towne, upon a private day of solemn humiliation; which a simple fellow that dwelt in another part of the house overhearing, gave it out that I had spoken very dangerous words, and, after the king came in, an enemie of mine brought him before Sir Peter Leicester[1] to be examined against me, and the (e) simpleton thought it[2] would doe me a notable displeasure, and swear against me how passionately I had declared my selfe for the king so long since, not knowing that he could not have sworne anything more for my vindication, as the times were then changed.

Section iv.

But that it may better appeare what my carriage at that time was, I shall here insert the copie of a certificate under the hands of those that best knew my actions at that time, being substantiall Christians of our societie; and afterwards shew my reasons why I did not engage for the party that then rose, and what offices of love I did (at least indeavoured to doe) for it.

That night all was on float. Sir *George Boothe* came to the Towne in the night, and went in the morning to *Warrington*, where the Rendezvouz was appointed on Aug. 1. This day the Gentlemen" [by whom he means the Royalists and Episcopalians] "met, and the next day the Towne engaged to muster 500 men in Armes."

[1] Sir Peter Leycester, the celebrated historian of his native county, was born at Nether-Tabley in 1613, and died Oct. 11, 1678. He suffered much for the Royal cause during the Civil Wars, both in his person and estate. He was created a Baronet for his services and sufferings immediately after the Restoration. For a full account of him and his work see Ormerod, vol. i. p. 461.

[2] It — a contemptuous word for he.

For the first, take it thus, faithfully copied from the originall yet in my keeping:

"We, whose names are annexed in the margin, being constant hearers of Mr. Martindale, and having beene long intimate with him as to publick and private conferences, and dayes of humiliation and thankesgiving, doe certifie the truth of the following particulars, to which our said names are respectively annexed.

"1. That he was, throughout the late changes, and (as we verily beleeve) long before Sir George Boothe's designe was visible, very much dissatisfied with the power and proceedings of them that were after called the Rumpe,[1] especially with the putting to death of the king.

"2. He hath oft expressed himselfe very fully for his now Majestie (f) and a free parliament to us that he durst trust, when there was little wisdome or safetie to let his judgment be knowne publickely.

"3. Though he was not so well satisfied with the designe aforesaid as to fall in with it, so neither when we asked his judgement, would he disswade us from it, but leave us to our owne consciences, professing himselfe unsatisfied each way as things were then managed.

"4. Though he was reported to preach and pray publickly against Sir George Boothe's partie; it was a great untruth, for he neither owned nor disowned one partie nor other in his publicke worke. Indeed, August 7th, being our Sacrament-day, he, knowing that many of his hearers, yea, of the communicants, were of different judgements as to the businesse then on foot, and fearing (as there (g) was too much ground) an alienation of affection from one another, he took occasion to preach upon Psal. cxxii. 8, and thence earnestly

[1] In this dissatisfaction Newcome fully sympathized with him. Under the date of May 9, Monday, [1659,] he says: "Upon the dissolution of the Parliament and the pulling down of *Richard* we heard of the setting-up of the *Rump-Parliament* again. I was much affected at it, to see how God had reckoned with *Cromwell's* family for his Atheistical carriages; and that God should set up these men, I thought how likely it may be that they should prove a scourge to the nation. That the men that have been so generally slighted in so many late severall Elections and much affronted, should be called to sit again! A most sad thing that we should be ruled by such as hate us."

to exhort both parties to love one an other as Christians, notwithstanding the aforesaid difference in judgement; which being misapprehended by some, through ignorance or malice, caused the said (h) false report.

"5. A day of private humiliation being kept before the Rout, he professed against owning of parties; and, accordingly, the worke of that day was to crie mightily to God, that the bloud of Englishmen, especially such as feared God of either partie, might be precious in his sight.

"6. The Lord's day after the Rout he bewailed the same with many teares in the pulpit." (My text was Jer. viii. 15, *He looked for peace but no good came, and for a time of health, and behold trouble.*)

"7. Upon the thankesgiving day, Nov. 3d, (and the Lord's day before when he warned it,[1]) he publickely professed against owning the Rout as a mercie, but kept the day in reference to the almost miraculous prevention of bloodshed in so great a measure, chusing a sutable text to that purpose, viz. Psal. cxvi. 15, *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.*"

Section v.

But by this time the reader may desire to be satisfied what reasons I had not to engage with that partie that then rose in these counties; which I shall next declare.

I. Saving that generall notice, a good while before mentioned, Sect. III, I had not any discovery made to me by any of my neighbours, (though many were engaged in it,) much lesse invitation to come to them, till they were actually in armes; and its usually said, 'tis a bad dog that is not worth whistling.

II. Soe soone as they were on foote, it was easie, without a spirit of prophecie, to see they were not like to stand. This reason kept off Mr. Angier, as is manifest in the narrative of his Life, page 34, and was one of my grounds to keep off; for

1. I was assured by a letter from a faithfull friend deeply engaged

[1] Warned — that is, gave notice of it.

among them in Lancashire, that those which should have appeared in more considerable numbers, and under the conduct of great souldiers, in other parts of the kingdome, and designed to beare the weight of this businesse, (these in these parts being onely to distract, amuse, and divert,) had failed our gentlemen's expectations, whereby they were brought into a snare. This I shewed to a great man of the same partie, which had little to say against it; but, alas! he was engaged beyond all possibility of retreat.

2. It must be little lesse than a miracle if raw undisciplined men,
(i) (as the greater part were,) though with some good souldiers mixed among them, not well formed into an armie, nor sufficiently furnished with armes and ammunition, should be able to stand before Lambert's men, who were veterane souldiers, well disciplined, excellently appointed, and bravely commanded, flusht with victories, and resolved to keepe up their trade.

3. God seemed to frowne upon them, the weather being so very
(j) foule, in the midst of summer, that many were thereby discouraged from going to their musters, and those that came were scarce able to stand upon the ground, much lesse to exercise with fire-armes. This much hindred their getting their men into order.

4. Having missed the taking of Chester-Castle, they had no place to hide their heads in safely; for how was it possible for them to defend that part of the walls that was neare the castle from an enemie's armie, the defenders being obnoxious to the cannon and musquets of the said castle?

5. This armie (if I may call it one) was like Mahomet's Angellicall cockes, made up of fire and snow; for many, both of the commanders and souldiers, were not onely different, but contrariant in their principles; so as they were no more like to soder firmely together then the iron and clay feet of Nebuchadnezzar's image. Some were zealous for the restoring of the king in pursuance of their covenant, which excluded the prelates; and some were resolved that they would have both or neither. Mr. Henry Bridgeman (after Dr., Deane, and Bp. Bridgeman) told another minister and me

[1] Henry Bridgeman, of Brazennose Coll. Oxon., created D.D. in 1660 by virtue of

at Dunham, that he forsooke them at Manchester because he perceived that some of the grandees were cordiall for the king but not for the church. (k)

6. If common interest could rivet them together so long as a common enemie was to be delt with, yet I made a full account that if they should (against all rationall grounds of expectation) become conquerors, then the end of one contest would be the beginning of another, which might perhaps be of wofull consequence. This I urged to Mr. Harrison at Manchester, who did not deny but such a contest was like enough to ensue, yet hoped the issue of it would not be so bad as I suspected. (l)

III. I was counselled and desired by some that were actually engaged, and saw themselves in a snare, to keepe myselfe free, that so I might be capable of doing that service for God in his church, and that kindnes for them for which I should disable myselfe by engaging among them.

IV. I feared God would not prosper a businesse the foundation whereof (as to the practick part) was so much laid in lying and deceit. I could name a great man in Lancashire that sent out his warrants all over the county to raise people to come to musters, under pretence of danger from the Quakers;[1] which (if the ranknesse of it did not deterre people) was the way to ensnare them into (m)

Lord Chancellor Clarendon's Letters, which said that "he had done his Majesty faithful service," &c. He afterwards became Bishop of the Isle of Man. See Wood's *Athen.*

[1] For danger from the Quakers, see previous note. Many false alarms seem to have been raised at this period, and the want of real information, on both sides, appears almost ridiculous. In a political ballad of that period, entitled "The new Letany," this is alluded to in the following manner:—

"From the Anabaptists, and shivering Quakers,
From such as rule us like bow-legged bakers,
From those that undo us, yet are good law-makers,
Libera nos, Domine.

"From being taken in disguise,
From Sir George Booth, and his *Cheshire lyes*,
From such as brought hither that devil, Excize,
Libera nos, Domine."

From Newcome's journal it appears that he was cognizant of the plot from first

danger ere they were aware, like the men that in the simplicity of their hearts followed Absalom. I compare not the causes but the cases.

V. The printed declaration spread by some of that partie (though I am now confident the chiefe of them approved it not) in this county, bred dissatisfaction in me in two respects: —

1. It owned noe authority but We, Lords, Gentlemen, Citizens, Freeholders, &c. have taken armes, which (as Sir Peter Leicester said) proclaimed them an illegal Rout; and it seemed as then they had none, for this declaration was printed before their rising, as one of them shewed me at the very beginning of that affaire, and the king's commission was dated at Bruxells, Aug. 9th, 1659. Now if this was according to the old stile, the commission was dated eight dayes after their rising: if according to the new stile, but one day before; and how the commission could come from Bruxells, and afterwards this declaration be drawne and printed at London, Oxford, Cambridge, or Yorke, and come downe in a dayes time was naturally impossible. I have since heard their Generall say, and I fully beleeve it, that the commission was promised and expected long before, and so there was a virtuall commission though not a formall. But who knew this except themselves, or rather some of the chiefes?

to last. It is unnecessary to extract the whole, but the perplexity of him and his party seems to have been extreme. "On the Saturday night, Aug. 6, we had an alarme which was terrible, but it was given to try the people. On the Sabbath I preached on 2 Chron. xii. 6, 7. As we were at sacrament, the Earle of Darby came in with a troop of horse, and they shot off their pistolls, which did somewhat disturbe us, and sufficiently affect us, with the voice of the trumpet, and the noise of war. At night, after sermon, we were with Sir George Boothe, who with much sorrow told us how basely he was deserted. 500 Lords and Gentlemen of the best of England were engaged, and were all either prevented, or had failed their trust, and none was up but Sir Thomas Middleton, &c. We advised to endeavour a mediation between Lambert and them; and Mr. Eaton was willing to have gone about it; and something to that end was drawn up, but the Councell at Chester was not for it, and so it fell." This fully accords with Martindale's statement, which follows. From Clarendon, and especially from the Life of Dr. Barwick, who was much in the confidence of Clarendon and the King, it appears that the King was all along cognizant of the plot, and that the general rising through the country was prevented by the treachery of one who was in the King's secret.

2. That declaration promised universall toleration, either to every one without exception, or at the least to all that joyned with them, (n) which must be either a perfect cheat, that being promised which they never intended to performe, or else a serious promise of that which I utterly abhorred.

Section vi.

But though I did not, for the reasons aforesaid, joyne with them in it, yet I did what I could by my prayers to God, and indeavours with men, to divert the storme, or at least mitigate it. For after I had wept plentifully over the dangerous case of some of my dear friends whom I found in Manchester expecting the sad event, (though my constitution is not apt to teares,) I engaged Mr. Shelmadine of Mottram, to goe with me to Mr. Samuel Eaton to see if we could engage him to make use of his interest in Lambert to prevent, if possible, the effusion of Christian bloud. This he liked not, but said he had beene spoken to formerly to goe to London to the parliament in order to peace, but some in Chester were averse to it, and had sleighted him, and now it was too late for such a journey, an armie being upon its march and drawing neare to us. When this would not doe, we engaged another minister to take our part that had good interest in Mr. Standley of Alderley,[1] and his sonne-in-law, Mr. Leigh of the Boothes,[2] our then High-Sheriffe; when we came to Alderley we understood by Mr. Stevenson, the minister, that they were hid in a private place, (expecting Lambert's[3] coming into the countrey,) and it was impossible for

[1] Thomas Stanley, of Alderley, was born in 1604, and much increased the family estates. He was High Sheriff in 1631, acted as a magistrate under Cromwell and Charles II., and was the first Cheshire gentleman that was created a baronet after the Restoration. He died in 1672.

[2] Mr. John Legh, of the Boothes, was nominated High Sheriff of Cheshire by Oliver Cromwell in 1658, and held the office through the following year. He married in 1652 Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Stanley, Esq., of Alderley, who, after his death, married, secondly, Robert Venables, Esq.

[3] Lambert's moderation on this occasion is accounted for by the ambitious hopes which he is suspected to have entertained at that period, of mounting into Cromwell's saddle.

us to have accesse to them. But he undertooke that by Mrs. Standley's helpe our businesse should be faithfully represented to them, (as I was afterwards assured it was,) but what they did in it I know not. However, this was sound satisfaction to me that I had driven it on as farre as I could. Thus much is certain, whatever was the cause, one of Lambert's messages was very faire and moderate, carrying an olive branch of peace in its mouth, in the opinion of the Generall and another learned gentleman still alive, (if not more,) but others were of another opinion, putting an harsh construction upon it, and so the warre went on, which occasioned Colonell Ashfield after to say, *We wondered that you had no wise men among you to understand us, for we were as willing to be rid of you as you could be to be rid of us.* And though it went on to a battell, yet Lambert (whatever were his ends) was not eager to shed bloud. He tooke off his men from pursuing the foote, (which they would soone have ruined,) saying, "Alas! poore men, these are forced and hired," and sent them after the horse, which were better fitted to escape; and to them also free quarter was given when they fell into their enemie's hands.

Section vii.

Not long after this, I being accidentally in the company of an officer of the armie, he boldly charged all the ministers of Cheshire as having an hand in this designe of our gentlemen. I told him it was false, for I had none, and I questioned not but there were many others as innocent as I. He replied, that for as much as we had not declared against it, we could not expect but that the parliament might justly take it for granted, and proceed against us in generall. They talked on the same manner as above in that little thing called the Rump, and Sir William Brereton[1] (as he signified to one of us) had much adoe to stay their furie. Upon this severall of us met together, and, upon a full debate of the case, it was resolved that, in forme of a petition or addresse, we should plead our owne innocence;

[1] For an account of this active parliamentary officer, see Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, vol. iii. p. 326; or the first publication of the Chetham Society.

which we did, a good number of hands being subscribed. This was misinterpreted as a selfish distinguishing of ourselves from such as (o) could not in truth and with a good conscience subscribe it. But there was no reason for it; we called the rising of our gentlemen by no ill name; we pretended no services by way of discovery or assistance; we accused no man; we did not so much as impliedly assert we were all that were innocent, but said expressely that we beleeved the like of many others which had not opportunity to communicate their mind to us, that we averred concerning ourselves. We asked them nothing but that common piece of justice, that we might not suffer through surmises or false suggestions, and that we might be heard propitiously as Englishmen in what we had further to offer hereafter. This last clause was proper to usher in another businesse, which, till we had avouched our innocence, was not proper for us that had laine under suspicion ourselves, viz. Petitioning on the behalfe of Sir George Booth and Mr. Peter Brooke,[1] (since My Lord Delamere and Sir Peter,) which diverse of us did, both to them and to Sergeant Bradshaw,[2] who (for all that ugly action about the murther of our Soveraigne King Charles the First) was then growne, by common fame and the reports of some prisoners, an ingenuous noble enemie. This Sir Peter Brooke doth still remember, and hath thankfully acknowledged many a time.

Section viii.

About this very time fell out an unhappie businesse that occasioned me a deale of trouble. Three or foure gentlemen, whereof one was my neare neighbour, after the engagement and rout at Winnington- (p) bridge,[3] going to hide their heads where they could, were set upon

[1] Mr. Peter Brooke, third son of Thomas Brooke, of Norton, Esq., and purchaser of Mere in 1652, was knighted in 1660. He was at one time member for the county, and High Sheriff in 1669.

[2] Mr. Sergeant Bradshaw had probably a neighbourly feeling for the sufferers, he having been born at Marple, in the county of Chester.

[3] The battle between Sir George Booth's troops and Lambert took place at Winnington-bridge. There is a very full and interesting account of it, with a list of the principal prisoners taken, in the Introduction to Ormerod's *History of*

by countreymen in Stopport-Parish with Pitcheforkes and the like husbandman's weapons. The head constable coming by, blamed them for their crueltie to distressed gentlemen, who thereupon desired they might be his prisoners; of which he accepted, and treated them according to their quality at his owne house. After a little while they desired to go away with their horses and armes, which he told them he durst not re-deliver soe early, for feare of trouble. Upon this these gentlemen in revenge got word to Lambert's men, then in Manchester, who fetched away these horses and armes. This story my neighbour soone after told me, laughing at the conceit how they had fitted the head-constable. Afterwards, the king being restored to his rightfull throne, and those that had lost anything in that transaction were made capable to recover it by law from such as had taken it from them, these gentlemen, or some of them, sued the head-constable for their horses and armes, which they had freely resigned to him, and after had caused to be taken from him. I (q) judged this, when I heard of it, to be a perfect robberie in forme of law, and that I was guilty, in measure, if I prevented it not. I therefore wished my neighbour's wife to tell her husband, that if they did not withdraw their action, I must and would come in as a witnesse against them; and he knew well enough that I was able to sweare that which would certainly throw all the charges of the court upon them, and a great deale of shame besides, for their ingratitude and injustice. The head-constable, I beleeve, never knew to this day who stopt them in their careere, but thus I tooke the thorne out of his foote and put it into mine owne, for this neighbour (r) gentleman became a most fierce and implacable enemie to me.

Section ix.

And it was not long before he had an opportunity to begin the

Cheshire, p. xl. Sir George Booth was taken prisoner at Newport Pagnel, in Bedfordshire, in the habit of a gentlewoman, acting the part so ill that he was easily suspected. A day of public thanksgiving was set apart by parliament for the victory. For a good account of this movement, as far as the Presbyterians were concerned, see Hunter's *Life of O. Heywood*.

exercise of that noble virtue of revenge upon me; for though, upon the coming in of the king, May 29th, 1660, (wherein no man did more truely rejoyce than I, that I might be freed from the yoake of usurpers, though many hoped for more gaine by it,) there passed not only an act of oblivion, (which mine adversary needed as much as I, having beene a captaine for the parliament,) but another for the confirming and restoring of ministers, which made me Vicar of Rotherston during my life, and tooke its full effect upon Christmasse following; for then the time determined for putting in exceptions against me, if there had beene any, which was never pretended. Just about that time fell out that wicked and mad pranke of Venner[1] and his brethren, (fifth-monarchy men,) against the governement, falling furiously upon the Life-guards. And hereupon a proclamation came out to restraine the libertie (before granted to all) to such as they, and some others that were separatists from the publicke assemblies. But this would not satisfie some gentlemen in our neighbourhood, (especially one that was a Justice and Deputie- (s)
Lieutenant,) for without a torturing glosse it would not touch Presbyterian ministers, against whom (especially beneficed men, of which number I was one,) the greatest spite was. Therefore he and two more, by his instigation, (as I have reason to beleeve, for some words that he spoke to me at his owne house the morning before they met, and his zeale for the businesse afterwards when they deserted it,) sent forth a paper called a precept, to be read publickly

[1] For a picturesque account of these mad movements see Pepys's Memoirs of the date. Harrison, Vane, and others were of the sect of Fifth-Monarchy men, looking for Christ's personal reign on earth. Pepys observes, (Oct. 13, 1660,) "I went out to Charing Cross, to see Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn, and quartered.....It is said, that he said he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ, to judge them that now had judged him, and that his wife do expect his coming again." Hunter remarks, p. 126, that "Advantage was taken of a frienzied insurrection of a few persons in the utmost extreme of Puritanism, who were called Fifth-Monarchists, to issue a proclamation prohibiting conventicles, or small assemblies of persons in private houses for the purpose of religious conference, hearing the word, and prayer. This was very hard upon the more sober part of the Puritans."

in congregations the next Lord's day after. That which was directed to me was thus, verbatim: —

"*To the Minister of Rotherston.*

"In pursuance of certaine instructions which we have lately received from the King's Majestie, for the preservation of the peace of the kingdome, and for prevention of all plotts and designes against the present governement, these are in His Majestie's name strictly to charge and command all manner of persons, of what opinion soever they bee, that they from henceforth doe not assemble themselves together in any unlawfull manner, and particularly that none out of their owne families assemble together upon pretence of preaching, teaching, praying, or hearing of the same in any place whatsoever but in publick parish churches and chappells appointed for the same; and we doe further require all justices of the peace, all maiors, bayliffes, constables, and all other His Majestie's officers and ministers whatsoever, as well civill as military, that they diligently enquire after and timely suppresse all such assemblies, and punish the offenders as disturbers of His Majestie's peace. Given under our hands the second day of January, 1660.

"The minister of Rotherston is hereby required to publish this precept upon the Lord's-day next after the receit hereof, in the audience of the whole congregation."

Section x.

Now to understand this the better, some things are fit to be noted: —

I. It is true they had instructions from His Majestie to preserve the peace and to prevent plotts, and, as one of the Deputie-Lieute-
(t) nants told me, very great power, whereby they might perhaps justifie all this; but that this particular way of pursuance was their owne is very probable, for

1. It is not likely that instructions should come from the same persons, (viz. the privy counsill,) and at the same time differing so much from the proclamation.

2. The like was not done in any county about us, though its probable the instructions to the Deputie-Lieutenants were as large as to ours.

II. This prohibition was without any limitation of time, or distinction of places. The words were (*from henceforth*) and (*all manner of persons, of what opinion soever they be.*)

III. This limiting of assembling ourselves out of our owne families for preaching, teaching, praying, and hearing, to *parish churches and chappells appointed for the same*, made it clearely a punishable transgression to meet in any unconsecrated chappells, for such were noe more *appointed* (nor were yet allowed) by the law for such purposes then my house is; yet this was practised by this severe Deputie-Lieutenant afterwards to his death.

IV. This restraint, being soe strict as not to allow soe much as one (minister or other) to assemble with those of another family for any of the purposes aforesaid, did clearely debarre every minister and private Christian to instruct a sick person, or pray with him, (how (u) earnestly soever he had desired it,) unlesse that sick person lived in the family of him that so instructs him or prayes with him.

V. Some high conformists that saw it, were of opinion that it also prohibited a minister to baptize any child in a private family, how necessary soever it may be, because prayers and instructions were (v) then used; and I inclined to thinke it did, in the letter of it, though perhaps not in the opinion of the composers.

VI. We were not only strictly charged and commanded to forbeare these meetings, but also they were here branded as *assembling in an unlawfull manner*. This I could not understand, nor publickly countenance; for I knew they were not unlawfull by the law of God, Acts, xii. 5, 12, and xvi. 15, 16; and some particulars comprehended within their generall termes were confessedly neither against statute, common law, or the canons. They themselves afterwards allowed me to instruct sick persons, and to pray with them.

VII. By reading this paper, I must call upon spitefull officers, both civill and military, and particularly my malicious neighbour, who

(w) was now become a cornet of horse, to pull us out by the eares; yea, not onely encourage them, but require them to punish us.

VIII. The paper sent me had the names (but not the hand of any one) of three Deputie-Lieutenants. It was onely a copie, having all the names written with the same hand with the copie itselfe, and that an unknowne hand to me and the partie that brought it. So that had it proved a counterfeit, (as it might for ought I knew,) I had beene a libeller against authority in publishing it. It was after said to be the head-constable's hand, but noe such thing then appeared to me. Such officers used to send out precepts with their names and office subscribed, having declared in the front by what commission from superiours they act; but no such thing was here done.[1]

Section xi.

Things being thus, I was resolved to abide the brunt, and not to read it whatever came of it, though many carnall friends that wished me well in their ignorant way, were very importunate with me. This was presently declared to the chiefe author of the precept; who sent out his warrant, directed to the constable of Rotherston, to apprehend me, (no calmer dealing would serve,) and bring me to the sessions at Northwych. This warrant was miscarried, and, by mistake, brought to the constable of Meire. But I hearing of it, went thither without any warning, taking with me some substantiall neighbours to witnesse some things that I thought pertinent, and to be my sureties, if need were. One of them, being a person that this enraged gentleman had formerly beene much obliged to, waited upon him, told him I was come to towne, and desired a few words with him in private. His answer was very harsh and high, viz. that *he would heare nothing but in open court.* After this I met him and the Baron of Kinderton coming out of the inne where they had

[1] It is curious to observe with what ingenuity Martindale magnifies the stringency of the precept, and the obstacles to compliance, in order to avoid the necessity of reading the obnoxious document. It is impossible not to admire his courage and perseverance in the whole scene which follows.

dined, and going to court, but nothing was said to me by either of them (perhaps they were busie in their minds and tooke no notice of me.) I staid till even, and no constable appearing, nor returne of the warrant made, I thought I could not be regularly called that sessions, and that of course a new warrant would come out to summon both the constable and me to appeare at the next sessions at Middlewych; and being to preach at Knutsford exercise upon Thursday after, for which I was in part unprovided, especially for such an auditory, where many ministers were oft present, I went home that evening, being on a Tuesday. The day following, when it grew late, and no constable nor returned warrant yet appeared, the businesse was brought on against me with a great deale of furie, voted an high contempt, and Mr. Earle, the minister of that place, interposing a few words on my behalfe to sweeten them, had like to have beene committed for his labour, as he soone after writ to me. And it was no wonder, when this severe justice and the Baron of Kinderton did, by their eminencie, interest, and reputation of great sufferers for the late King Charles the First, carrie all before them.

A few days after the sessions, comes another warrant to the constables of Rotherston, from the same justice, to bring me before himselfe at a time appointed. I confesse I had not yet any mind to be hurried by force, and therefore, hearing of the warrant, I went to a friend's house in another towneship out of the constable's compasse, and left them word that I would meet them at the time appointed; and, bringing with me againe the same neighbours, and one more that was thought to have more interest in the justice then any of them, I exactly observed my time. Upon our appearance, the justice falls very foule upon the constable for not bringing me sooner,—talkes high of an indictment for perjury against him and his fellow constable, for neglecting to doe their office. I answered, they were in no fault, for the first warrant miscarried, so that it came to their hands too late, and, for this second, the time was observed exactly. Then he asked me if I had received a precept sent me by the Deputie-Lieutenants. I answered I could not tell whether I had or noe. This, he said, was a strange answer. To which I said, how strange soever it might

seeme, it was very true, for I had received a paper in forme of precept, with three of their names at it, but I knew they were not written by themselves, but by whom writ or sent I never knew. He said, that was all one; to which I answered, I humbly conceived the cases differed vastly, and that under these circumstances I had no reason to read it. He presently bids his clarke to write downe that I had acknowledged the receipt of the precept, (which I did no otherwise then now related;) but I, seeing the most would be made of every thing I said, and that nothing yet acknowledged could doe me
(x) any harme, except more could be wrung out of me or proved against me, resolved to confesse no more.

He asked me, next, whether I had read that precept as I was enjoyned? I answered, I was sent for thither as an offender, and desired I might have the benefite of the law allowed the worst of them, viz., not to be put to accuse myselfe of anything, but that proceedings might be against me *secundum allegata et probata*. He told me he had power to examine me, which I granted; but withall said, I hoped I had power also to answer for myselfe what I judged most convenient; and if it were proved that I had not read it, I was readie to give my reasons why I had not. That, he said, should not serve my turne; the question was onely whether I had read it or noe; for he would hear no reasons against authority, and withall he spoke as
(y) contemptuously of me, and with as great threats, (for generall expressions,) as *he would make me smart*, &c., as if I had beene the veriest rogue that ever came before him. At length, being so exceedingly provoked and abused, I answered him as the martyr did the proconsul, but in softer language, *Sir, you may perhaps affright your servants by such words as these, but I thanke God they doe not affright me.* These words he much blamed me for, (and perhaps they were too round,) but, however, he promised me upon
(z) the word of a gentleman, before all my friends and his owne clarke, that (being his owne concerne) he would never make use of them against me. Yet for all this, the next sessions, his clarke, in his presence, (and owned by him in it,) brought this saying of mine, (but misrepresented in his owne words, which I never spoke, as I

made it good to his face, and he could not deny it, but asked me what I did say,) and made them his great matter of complaint, the other matters which his master professed to be the onely reasons why he bound me to the good behaviour, viz. because I said *I had no reason to read the precept, and that I denied to say whether I had read it or noe*, being such things as the justices at the sessions would not meddle with. But to returne whence I digressed,—the justice having demanded sureties for the good behaviour upon the ground aforesaid, I excused myselfe, but he immediately set his clarke on worke to write my *mittimus*, threatening me that I should not goe home to see my wife and children, though my wife was then newly delivered; but he seemed no more to regard that, when he was told of it, then if she had been no woman, casting out most cruell words what he would doe with me, what lives soever depended upon it. When I saw it would be no better, I put in sureties, and was dismissed with many threats that he had not yet done with me. His clarke also grumbled that the *mittimus* signified nothing, though he was well paid for the recognizance, and must have nothing for the *mittimus* (aa) had it beene executed.

Section xii.

Quickly after, (for he lost no time,) he sends for the clarke, and a silly drunken ale-house-keeper, to be examined whether I read the (bb) precept or noe. The clarke used to walke so oft home, and to the diall and clock, to set the one by the other, that he was not able to sweare what I did, or did not. The other was so seldome there, heeded so little, (and understood lesse,) that he might as well have sent for a child of seven yeares old. About this time a good friend of mine in a legall way, (and more I desired not,) that was the 4th Deputie-Lieutenant, coming into our parts, I desired him to interpose a little in a friendly way with his brother, to assure him I was free to read the King's proclamation, (which he once said was equivalent to the precept,) and that I would forbeare all private meetings till the present tumults were quite over, (which probably would be speedily.) This my friend thought would satisfie; yea, told me,

after he had propounded it, he made no question but it would ; (and accordingly I read that proclamation the next Lord's day.) He told me also, that his brother had promised, that, (however things fell out,) he would not commit me till my friend's returne out of Lancashire, whither he was going. But when his backe was turned, this severe gentleman sends me a sharpe letter, telling me he expected I should, the next Lord's day, read the precept and acknowledge mine errour, as he said my friend had engaged for me, (but he, at his returne, denied any such engagement;) and, when the Lord's day was past, sent againe to me, charging to tell him, under my hand, whether I had read it or noe. I answered him very humbly, with a prefatory apologie; and (knowing that he might have witnesses enow to
(cc) prove against me that I had not read it that day) I confessed that I had not indeed read it that day. But if I read it upon the day first appointed, there was no reason I should doe it againe, and if I had not, I desired it might be made out against me by evidence, before I suffered upon such an accusation.

Section xiii.

Upon the receit of mine answer, he hastened my surprizal by souldiers, and imprisonment at Chester; and my neighbour gentleman, that had so much desired an opportunity for revenge, had the
(dd) honour of a pettie-constable, a bum-bayliffe, or a common souldier, to joyn with another base-fellow in carrying me to prison. He pretended he would not be maintained at my charge; but for all that, necessity had no law. Those that have neither money nor credit to beare their own charges, must have it somewhere. He had patience enough to digest my bearing both their charges to Chester, and his partner's, (whom he called the clarke, but, by his visage and habit, looked like a Ludgate-beggar,) while he was there; and at parting my gentleman begged some money of me for this worthy clarke, to buy him a paire of gloves, but I beleeve he bestowed it upon lining for himselfe.

I was grievously wronged in the *mittimus;* for though the chiefe authour of my sufferings, being informed by a common friend to us

both, that *Mr. Martindale was as true a friend to the king as himselfe*, answered, *Tell them soe that know it not, but in this he* (ee) *shewes it not:* yet in the commitment, (which I read, but could not get a copie of it,) it was thus said:—Forasmuch as Adam Martindale, Vicar of Rotherston, hath refused to read such a thing, and therefore we judge him disaffected to his majestie's governement, &c. Now, whereas it was said (*we*) in the plurall number, there was indeed another Deputie-Lieutenant's hand at the commitment, viz. Mr. Cholmondeley of Vale Royall,[1] who was also High-Sheriffe that yeare; but I am confident he knew nothing of it, but his name was put to it upon some generall leave. My reasons are these: —

1. I myself have knowne the same gentleman put his name to a thing in his absence.

2. He was, in all addresses to him, by myselfe or friends, exceeding civil to me, and cordiall, as I verily beleeve, for my enlargement.

But that was finely prevented by this sending me to prison (contrary to promise) in the absence of my friend gone into Lancashire; for if the matter of mine imprisonment had beene to be debated among all the four Deputie-Lieutenants, mine enemie had reason to feare there would have beene two against two to hinder it effectually; but, now that he had laid me fast, and made account that he had one of his brethren that would sticke to him, there could be but two against two for my release, (for they were then onely four in all,) and so I should ly there.

I was kept close prisoner at first at the Feathers[2] by the Castlegate, where the charge was considerable. What I paid for my chamber I now remember not, but my diet was eight-pence a meale, besides all extraordinaries, and marshall's fees. Two hungrie fellowes there were, that both claimed the chiefe marshall's place; so that I, not knowing to whether I might safely pay it, had a grievous

[1] Thomas Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal, third son of Thomas C. of ditto, was High Sheriff of the county of Chester in the years 1660 and 1661, and M.P. for the county in 1669. He died in 1701.

[2] The "Feathers" has survived all mutations of authority and property in the ancient city of Chester during the last two centuries.

life with them both, till at last I paid it in to the Deputie-Governour,
(ff) Lieutenant Standley, to give it where it was due. There was also a deputie-marshall that waited on me continually, and expected to be maintained by me; and so would the two higher in great measure, had I beene such a foole; and, however, they put me to a deale of expence. After a time I got libertie, upon bond, to be at a friend's house in the cittie; and Marshall Radford (though I was not released) would have releasement-fees of me, and threatened to take my bodie againe into his custodie, if I did not forthwith pay
(gg) them,—which for mine owne peace I did. At last, through the mediation of My Lady Gamul,[1] I got leave to goe home upon a thousand pound bond, (which had before beene denied me, though I had a child that, in the opinion of my family, lay a dying;) and upon my returne at the time appointed, from time to time my old bond was delivered, and a new one sealed by me, for which bond the clarke, Ley, of the Angell in Bridge-street, made me pay sweetly.

But all this satisfied not the contriver of my sufferings. He had promised to make me smart, and (like the gentleman that swore he
(hh) would give nothing) he resolved to keep his word, for he sent up my name to the Privy Councill, (with a pure character no doubt,) that it might be out of the power of all his fellowes, and of the Lord-Lieutenant, (My Lord of Derby,)[2] to release me. But overdoing sometimes proves undoing; this overboyling of malice proved to
(ii) further my release, which it was designed to hinder. Mr. Baxter was then intimate with the Lord Chancellor Hyde, who was courting him to receive a bishopricke;[3] and he being writ to by a

[1] Lady Gamul was Elizabeth, daughter of Randle Mainwaring, of Over Peover, Bart., who married for her second husband Sir Francis Gamul, who was knighted by Charles I. He was Mayor of the city of Chester during its siege, and was always conspicuous for his loyalty. It is said that a baronetcy was promised him, but never executed. Lady Gamul died in 1661, and was buried at Hawarden.

[2] Charles, eighth Earl of Derby, succeeded his father in 1659, and supported the unsuccessful rising of Sir George Booth. He was taken prisoner, and attainted by parliament, but was restored in blood by Act 16 and 17 Car. 2. He was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire at the Restoration, and died Dec. 21, 1672.

[3] The *Non-conformist's Memorial*, vol. iii. p. 396, says, "Mr. Baxter was offered

Lancashire minister, and the case sent him truly stated, and attested by such as were able to sweare to every particular, he shewed it to the Lord Chancellor, who, as I was credibly informed, did so rattle one of the Deputie-Lieutenants that came to wait on him, and so expostulated with the Earle of Derby, then at London, that he made account he had done my businesse, and told Mr. Baxter he should heare of my release speedily; but how, he said not. When the Earle came downe, I, knowing nothing what the Lord Chancellor had said to him, made application to his secretary, Captaine Weaver, then in Chester, assisted by Mrs. Richardson, (the mace-bearer's wife,) to whom he was obliged for securing his goods from Lambert's souldiers. He undertooke my businesse, and found My Lord so propitious, that at his next coming to Chester, not long after, he ordered me my bond without giving any more, which was a sufficient discharge. But this I thought good to conceale from all but trustie friends; for being not yet cleared from the sessions businesse, I thought the opposition would be lesse, and the court more mild, if they thought me still a prisoner another way; and so I found it, though my prosecutor's clarke did his utmost, (as I signified before;) for it hindered not my release; yea, though there was an order made that very day, that all bound to their good behaviour should attend a second sessions before they were discharged, they made my case an exception to that generall rule. When I was actually discharged, the authour of my sufferings said he would doe his best to helpe me out of my other trouble, (though he had oft told my friends he could do nothing, seeing it was before the councill.) I thanked him, but withall said I was discharged (jj) alreadie. He said he was glad of it; and I answered, So was I too. Here was an end (blessed be God) of this costly businesse, during which, these things fell out that I judge worth noting: —[1]

the Bishopric of Hereford by Lord Chancellor Clarendon; but could not be satisfied to accept it, and gave his lordship his reasons in a respectful letter."

[1] Nothing can exceed the satirical tone of this narrative of his persecutions; the indulgence of which, and his final triumph, seem to have almost consoled him for his cruel hardships.

1. In the beginning of this trouble, viz. Jan. 11th, 1660, God was pleased to bestow upon us a gallant boy, which was sweet
(kk) company to his poore mother in mine absence, and a refreshing to me at my returne. We called him John, after his toward brother that died the yeare before; though we were afterwards troubled that we had done soe, (fearing lest we had offended God by striving with his Providence to have a John,) when he was taken from us, May 21, 1663. He was a beautifull child, and very manly and courageous, for his age; of which this may passe for one specimen:— We had a wanton tearing calfe, that would runne at children to beare them over. This calfe he would encounter with a sticke in his hand, when he was about two yeares old, (for he lived not to be much older,) stand his ground stoutly, beat it backe, and triumph over it, crying *caw*, *caw*, meaning he had beaten the calfe. I doe not think one child of 100 of his age durst doe so much.

2. My poore people, though they knew it went against the graine, and were threatened for doing it by my malicious neighbour-gentleman, gave me the following certificate, subscribed by almost six
(ll) score hands of gentlemen of quality, freeholders, and other householders; which I yet have to produce. The true copie of the certificate followeth:—

"We whose names are subscribed, inhabiting within the parish of Rotherston, doe certifie whom it may concerne, that we verily beleeve in our consciences, that Mr. Adam Martindale, minister there, is a very faithfull friend to his Majestie's person and governement, and a reall enemie to all plotters against the same, as his frequent and fervent prayers in publick for these many months last past, besides other evidences thereof, doe abundantly manifest.— Witnesse our hands, this 3d day of February, 1660."

3. Diverse gentlewomen of quality, as My Lady Gamul, My Lord Delamer's aunts, and Mrs. Birkenhead, writ to this angry Deputie-Lieutenant; and his owne lady tooke part with them; but it produced nothing, save invectives against me. He would oft say of me, by way of contempt, *Such as he*,—told some of them he had almost courted me to read the precept, and that he had beene forced

to send two warrants for me before I would appeare before him; concerning which I have given a faithfull account, Section XI., to which I referre the reader to judge how just and well grounded such accusations were. But in another point he pinched me more: for he was often at it how singular I was, when none else but I boggled at reading the precept, (which I suppose he verily thought to be true.) But I could have told him of one eminent minister (at the least) that had refused to read it; of another, that in effect told the people after reading it, that he would never observe it; and diverse that gave such sences of it as were neither consistent with the words of the precept, nor his interpretation. But I durst not doe this, nor so much as say in generall that he mistooke, lest I should have set him upon ferretting them out, and bring good men into trouble. After, (mm) indeed, when I knew all the danger was past, I made bold to tell him of his errour; but at present I was content rather to beare the blame of singularity then to turne informer.

4. At this time, while I was prisoner in Chester, the Baron of Kinderton was chosen parliament-man, from which I expected further trouble; and so it fell out, as shall be shewed in its place.

5. That day that I appeared before the gentlemen at My Lady Gamul's house, there was a baronet's eldest sonne, who (though unconcerned) did raile most bitterly against the meeting of Christians toe spend time in extemporary prayer, under the name of conventicles; which then they were not prohibited by any law, nor are yet, if the number limited by the act be kept to. But the next newes I heard of him (how long after I remember not) was, that at a race within the liberties of the same cittie, he provoked a kinsman to runne him thorow; and, being now in great anguish to his death, he was for nothing but pray, pray, pray; and now the most fervent (nn) prayers were most welcome. Thus God did notably vindicate his owne ordinance, in the same cittie, and by the same mouth, that before spake so much venome at it.[1]

[1] Newcome's Diary abounds with similar "judgments" to this, and the "providence" which follows in the next section. As the book is to be published it may be unnecessary to quote them. The ludicrous is, in many of them, strangely blended with the horrible.

Section xiv.

When this costly businesse was over, my backe-friends tooke care I should not live without disturbance, (though sometimes they plaid but at small game.) The rabble of prophane youths, and some doting fooles that tooke their part, were encouraged to affront me, by
(oo) setting up a May-pole[1] in my way to the church, upon a little banke called Bow-hillock, where, in times past, the Sabbath had beene wofully profaned, (as tradition goes) by musick and dancing; and

[1] The May-pole and its concomitants were the great bone of contention between the Royalists and the Puritans. King Charles I. had, perhaps rashly, ventured to re-enact his father's celebrated "Book of Sports." By his warrant, dated Oct. 18, 1633, it was enacted that, "for his good people's lawfull recreation, after the end of Divine Service, his good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawfull recreation: such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreations; nor from having May-Games, Whitson Ales, and Morris Dances, and the *setting up of* May Poles, and other sports therewith used; so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of Divine Service. And that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom. But withal his Majesty doth hereby account still as prohibited, all unlawfull games to be used on Sundays only, as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited, bowling."

The following were the words of the parliamentary ordinance for their destruction, 4to. Lond. printed by Rob. White, 1644: — "And because the Prophanation of the Lord's Day hath been heretofore greatly occasioned by May Poles, (a heathenish vanitie, generally abused to superstition and wickednesse,) the Lords and Commons do further order and ordain, that all and singular May Poles, that are or shall be erected, shall be taken down and removed by the constables, borsholders, tything men, petty constables, and churchwardens of the parishes, where the same may be; and that no May Pole shall be hereafter set up, erected, or suffered to be within this kingdom of England or dominion of Wales. The said officers to be fined five shillings weekly till the said May Pole be taken downe." Die Sabbathi, 6 April, 1644.

With the Restoration came back the May Poles. In a curious tract, entitled "The Lord's loud Call to England," published by H. Jessey, 1660, there is given part of a letter from one of the Puritan party in the North, dated "Newcastle, 7th of May, 1660:" — "Sir, the countrey as well as the town, abounds with vanities; now the reins of liberty and licentiousness are let loose. *May Poles*, and playes, and juglers, and all things else, now pass current. Sin now appears with a brazen face;" &c. For a very full account of the May Pole see Sir Henry Ellis's Ed. of Brand, vol. i. 135.

where, in my time, there was a randezvouz of rake-hells, till I tooke an effectuall way to rout them. I would not, for a time, seeme to gratifie their spitefull humour by taking notice of it; but in due season, when their youthfull rage was somewhat cooled, and there was no colour to say what I spoke proceeded from passion, I tooke (pp) occasion to preach upon Prov. i. 22, *How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity?* &c.; and after I had laid before them many other things of greater weight, I calmely reproved their folly in erecting a May-pole in that way they had done; told them, many learned men were of opinion that a May-pole was a relique of the shamefull worship of the Strumpet Flora in Rome; but however that was, it was a thing that never did, nor could doe good; yea, had occasioned, and might occasion, much harme to people's soules; and I thinke I also told them of their sin in doing such a thing (though it were granted to be harmelesse in itselfe) on purpose to affront me, their spirituall father and pastour. This sermon somewhat nettled some of them; and to cleare themselves that they were no friends to prophanenesse, they resolved, upon their owne interest, to procure Mr. Brooke, of Congleton, (who had formerly preached at Rotherston and Leigh eight years, and was so well respected in the parish, (and by me,) that they knew I would not hinder him,) to bestow his paines upon a Lord's day with us. Well! they prevailed, and he came; but when he saw the May-pole in his way, and understood by whom and to what end it was set up, he did most smartly reprove their sin and follie, calling them by most opprobrious names, as the scumme, rabble, rife-rafe (or such like) (qq) of the parish; insomuch, that my words were smooth like oyle in comparison of his, so full of salt and vinegar.

Not long after, my wife, assisted with three young women, whipt it downe in the night with a framing-saw, cutting it brest-high, so as the bottome would serve well for a diall-post. This made them almost mad, and put them to the trouble of piecing it with another fowle pole; but it was such an ugly thing, so rough and crooked, as proclaimed the follie and povertie of those that set it up, so that they were content it should be taken downe such a day, and I

thinke it was so at the time exactly, though the same magistrate that brought so much trouble upon me concerned himselfe so zealously, (I had like to have said weakely,) as to send out his warrant to the constable to bring before him the three young women suspected to have cut it downe; but whether there was no proof against them, or it was against no law that this gentleman could find, nothing was made of it.

Section xv.

After this comes a more considerable onset, in comparison whereof the former was but a præludium, like that of the Roman sword players. Upon the 28th of May (to the best of my remembrance for the times) Mr. Delves, apothecary in Knutsford, brought me a booke, taken most of it out of the booke of Common Prayer, with some particular scriptures and prayers suted to the occasions of the day following, and such a strict injunction from the king prefixt to it as I marvelled at, considering the king's declaration that freed us from punishment for not reding the booke of Common Prayer was so freshly come out; but I heard afterwards that it was set out in the king's name without his knowledge; which high presumption he much blamed, but yet pardoned because of the authour's former merit.[1] Whether that was so or noe I know not, but Mr. D. said the Baron of Kinderton sent it to him with a charge he should deliver it to me. And it seems he had further order to severall gentlemen of the parish, to desire them not to faile coming that day, and to certifie what I did in the case. I gave Mr. Delves never a word, good nor bad, nor tooke it amisse from him, for he was my civill courteous friend, (notwithstanding our difference in judgement,) but this order coming from a parliament man, an eminent magistrate in the county, and an excellent customer, (worth 100 of me,) I could not expect any other from him. But the gentlemen of the parish

[1] The Act of Parliament made in the twelfth, and confirmed in the thirteenth year of King Charles II., for the observation of the 29th May yearly, is to be read in all churches on the Lord's Day next before the 29th May, in order to give notice of its due celebration.

had no mind to be apparitors or informers. Onely my neighbour the cornet was hugely glad of the employment. But this being onely worke for the middle part of the day, he filled it up with setting up a new May-pole in the morning, on purpose to affront me, and drinking to debaucherie in the evening. But it fell out unluckily with him; for just as he was to watch me as the cat doth a mouse, to qualifie himself for a noble informer, his man comes riding downe the towne upon one of his best horses, which, falling downe under him, the master is fetched speedily out of the church, and he came soone enough to be a witnesse to his horse's last will and testament and quiet decease; but returned too late to witnesse (rr) anything against me; and, this bitter man being thus taken off his malitious intention by so remarkable a providence, nothing was certified that did me any injury.

Section xvi.

But if one thing will not, another shall: next, then, the designe is to indict me at the assizes in the beginning of winter, 1661, for refusing to read the booke of Common Prayer.[1] The grand jury were said to be all gentlemen, many of them great ones, some high Royalists, and the severe justice of our neighbourhood, that had done me so many good offices, the foreman of the jury. But there was one small scruple troubled them. The witnesses were able to sweare that I read it not such a day, but not that I refused it, for there was no booke of that nature ever tendered to me or laid before me; and it was the churchwarden's worke, not mine, to provide the booke. But their foreman undertooke to remove this block, pressing this, that not reading was refusing; but in this case he was so little beleeved, that of 33 jurors (and so many I heard there were) 12 would not be prevailed with to find the bill. He then used another stratageme, which was this: He incites (or summons) those few that were satisfied to find it, with a few more over, to make them a

[1] The Book of Common Prayer, as it was established by Act of Parliament in the first and eighth year of Queen Elizabeth, was revived and enforced, till the establishment of the new book at the Feast of St. Bartholomew, in the year 1662.

jury in law, such as he thought obnoxious to the impressions of feare, into the judge's chamber late in the night, and there propounds to the judge, *Whether non-reading of the booke of Common-prayer were*
(ss) *not refusing?* To which the judge answered roundly, Yes; but he told him not *there was no booke to read;* and the dissenters of the jury, being timorous men, and knowing well how high that judge was against Non-conformists, durst not object there as they had done amongst their fellow jurors,—joyned, though very much against heart, (that I say not conscience,) in finding the bill in the judge's chamber. When this was done, mine enemies thought now I was quite routed; I would never be so presumptuous as to traverse an indictment found by a jury of gentlemen; and therefore now they hoped I would submit, resigne, or doe any thing to get out of this snare. I was so farre from that, that I laught at the impotence of the assault, which I was sure I could repelle if I might have law; and that I resolved to have, if charges would doe it. I entered my
(tt) appearance, and tooke out a copie of the bill; made myselfe merrie by comparing the barbarousnesse of the Latine with that of the designe of the prosecutors, Thomasson and his abettors. But that which pleased me best was, there were almost as many faults as lines in it, for matter of forme. Therefore, in order to quashing of the bill, I retained Mr. Ratcliffe for my counsell, who, at the next assizes, assigned many illegall faults in it; and though there was also a counsell to defend it, yet the judges turned counsells themselves against me. But Mr. Ratcliffe put them so hard to it, that to diverse things they could say nothing but, "Mr. Ratcliffe, you are too criticall." At last he pitched upon such a grosse flaw as they could not deny to be one; but then Sir Job Charleton asked, whether it were a custome in that court for a man to be admitted to quash a bill in the case of a common nusance before he had traversed? And being answered it was very ordinary; he said, but it was not soe
(uu) where he had beene, and it should not be admitted in this case, which he judged a nusance. Judge Millward asked whether I conformed; and no answer being returned, it was resolved I should not have the benefite of a quash, which some thought was to deny

me the benefite of the law. Whether that were soe I am no competent judge, but it was plaine the designe was to put me to more charges; for if I missed it in my traverse, I could not be hindered from quashing afterwards. I considered then what I had to doe; and though I could have beene admitted to traverse that weeke, yet fearing the judges might take it as an affront that I came upon them againe so quickly, and making account it was a sure way to secure my Ladie-day rents (which would quickly be due) to deferre my traverse till the winter assizes; that both judges and (vv) patrone would be moderate when I was actually out of place, — as I beleeved I should be before then, — I entred my traverse for the following assizes; and then, there being neither prosecutor, counsell, nor witnesses, it was onely a businesse of pure charge to fetch myselfe off. And here I must acknowledge the great goodnesse of God to me, that taught me to avoid a snare which I verily beleeve was laid deep for me. An officer in that court, that shall passe namelesse, pretending great pittie to me for the vastnesse of my charges, pressed me very much not to traverse, but to submit; and this being seemingly against his owne interest, I was apt to thinke him sincere in it. But, giving him many thankes for his good will, I told him I could not submit in point of conscience, for that was a tacit acknowledgement of a fault; and I had neither done as the bill accused me, nor thought it any fault if I had; besides, I thought it very imprudent to put myself into the judges' hands, to be fined in a great summe if they pleased. He told me it would but be a matter of ten groates, or such a thing; but I answered him, that was uncertaine, (and I had not found them so favorable as to trust them.) They might fine me in 60 pounds, that is, a yeare value of (ww) my benefice; whereas I could certainely come off for 5 pounds more, and that I knew the length of. Afterwards this pittifull gentleman would have had a fee more then his due, as I plainely convinced him; and was as plainely convinced myselfe that he intended me no good by his serious advice.

Section xvii.

About the same yeare, 1661, when the Act of Uniformitie was going fast on, a stop was put to it till another session, that in the meane time a benevolence to the king might be paid, or at the least engaged for, by the Clergie; lest the Non-conformists should have an excuse to pay nothing when they had left their estates. This put us into a great strait what to doe; for it was evident, if we gave not freely, that would be alledged as a just reason why we were turned out; and if we did, they would turne us out notwithstanding, and laugh at us. For mine owne part I resolved, so neare as I could, to avoid both extremes; and therefore, being called before the chancellor and other commissioners at Knutsford, I offered them 20 shillings, which my neighbours that knew my condition thought very noble; but when some of the commissioners undervalued it, as too little, and pressed me to give more, I told them I had suffered much in mine estate, having beene unjustly involved in great troubles, out of which I had not yet extricated myselfe; that I knew mine owne circumstances best; and that I hoped they would suffer it to be a free gift, and not presse me above mine owne inclination, which to doe was a cleare violation of the rule in the act that they were obliged to walke by; and so it was confessed by the chancellor in his late speech. When they saw I was not to be hectored out of my money, they were faine to take it and give me an acquittance. At the same time they gave us an Act[1] to publish in

[1] In Newcome's Diary is the following entry, under the date Dec. 8, 1661:— "There were two Acts to be published in Churches, wherein the Parliament declared against the Covenant, &c., which Ministers were loath to read. *Mr. Richardson* was hugely afraid least they should come on his day, [at the Collegiate Church,] and was thinking, because they [the Fellows] had an evil eye at him, they would go nigh to cast it upon him, that if he refused they might have that matter against him. Upon this I thought what cause I had to be thankful that I was free, (having no charge at Manchester,) as indeed being less fit for this tryal. Yet I desired to bear a part with my brethren, that were in trouble about this affaire. In consultation with *Mr. Richardson,* I moved, that if we could bethink of any friend that had the ordering of the business, one might get him to send it on the other day. I then said, Let us move God to do it. Do you pray, and I will pray in the case,

our congregations, having a clause in it making it highly penal to assert the obligation of the solemne League and Covenant; which I published as a matter of fact, that such a thing was enacted, but so as all intelligent people might perceive (and I suppose did) that I (xx) neither owned nor disowned the justnesse of that law as to that point; and yet I did all that was enjoyned me.

Section xviii.

And now came out that fatall Act of Uniformitie, that threw off many hundreds of us out of our places. Many will tell us it was our owne fault; but I affirme that had I beene as full a conformist in my judgement as any in the kingdome, I could not have kept my place; for one condition being this, that I must some Lord's-day before the 24th of August, 1662, openly, solemnely, and publickely read the morning and evening prayer as appointed by the new booke, and declare unfeigned assent and consent to all things contained in it and prescribed by it; and this booke coming not into our parish till Friday, Aug. 22d, in the evening, my place was remedilessely lost (as to any power of mine owne) upon Aug. 17th, which was the last Lord's-day allowed for doing this worke.[1]

that he would take notice of the busyness; and let us see whether he do not do something remarkable in it. The business slept a month, and Dec. 15 they were read at *Manchester* Church by *Mr. Mosley;* and it was very providentially done. For *Mr. Lees* preached at *Banbury* for *Mr. Mosley; Mr. Stopford* should have preached at *Prestwich* for *Mr. Lees;* but because the service was not so much used there, *Mr. Richardson,* that could best skill of a little, was sent thither; and so he escaped this service at home. We were much taken with the mercy and the return to prayers, in this case. It is not in vaine humbly to bespeak the Lord by earnest prayers; who can and will step in, and do what a surest friend at court cannot do."

[1] Whatever sympathy one is disposed to entertain for Adam in the loss of his preferment, there can be none whatever for the spirit which he exhibits on the occasion, or the grounds which he takes on which to found his grievance. He here either totally misunderstands, (which is not likely when he had so much at stake,) or wilfully misrepresents the conditions of the Act of Uniformity. He states that his chance of reading it was gone on the 17th of August; whereas the terms of the Act are clear:—"Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that every Parson, Vicar, or other Minister aforesaid, who now hath or enjoyeth any Ecclesiastical Benefice, or Promotion, within this realm of England, or places aforesaid,

From which it is evident, that if I had gone to the bishop and subscribed to every thing required, — and I had the stomach of an ostrich to have digested that great booke without chewing, when it was tendered me on the 24th of August,—yet, for all that, I had beene at the mercie of the bishop and patron; and what that would have been, is easie to be collected from that bitter order that the one procured, and the other granted, five dayes after, though there was no necessity for it, (but onely to trample upon me,) for the patron had power without it to present, and had his clarke readie to present, viz. his owne chaplaine. And though he tooke time, and seemed willing to gratifie the gentrie of the parish with a grave and learned minister, and not with such a young man as was two or three years short of mine when I came amongst them, (then insisted upon as a weighty objection;) all this was a mere blind; for the chiefe gentleman (in his account) was written to underhand to propose no man else; by which his mind would easily be understood by the rest; yea, so early as Aug. 31st, the intended new vicar would have beene viewing the house as one that was sure to have it, had not some friends disswaded him from it, as yet too early. It is true that the bishop might have judged this a lawfull impediment, *that the booke*

shall in the Church, Chapel, or Place of Public Worship belonging to his said Benefice or Promotion, upon some Lord's Day previous to the Feast of Saint *Bartholomew*, which shall be in the year of our Lord God, one thousand, six hundred, sixty-and-two, openly, publickly, and solemnly read the Morning and Evening Prayer, appointed to be read by, and according to the said book of Common Prayer, at the times thereby appointed; and after such reading thereof, shall openly and publickly, before the congregation then assembled, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things in the said Book contained and prescribed, in these words and no other:—I, A. B., &c. And, that all and every such person who shall (*without some lawful impediment*, to be allowed and approved of by the Ordinary of the place) neglect or refuse to do the same within the time aforesaid, or (in case of such impediment) within one month *after such impediment is removed*, shall *ipso facto* be deprived of all his Spiritual Promotions," &c. It is quite clear from this, that such a "lawful impediment" as not receiving the book in time, would have protected him completely from the rigorous enforcing of the Act. Indeed, he shews himself, by the way in which he discusses the question of "a lawful impediment," and how the Bishop *might* have acted, had he alleged one, that he was not fairly stating the purport of the Act.

was not come, and allowed me a further time. But still that put it out of my power into his; and what if he would not so judge it, but tell me, in so great a concerne, I should have seene to mine owne businesse, and procured a booke from London myself; or peremptorily deny to doe it without giving any reason, his power in this case being arbitrary? Had not my title beene then gone? And what favour could I expect (or rather what violent proceedings might I not expect) from a prelate that preached so violently against us,[1] was so briske with *significats*,[2] and was linked so fast in his interest to the patron, a gentleman of £5,000 per annum, an old fellow-sufferer, a parliament-man, justice of the peace, (and, I thinke, by this a Deputie-Lieutenant,) and above all, a huge benefactor, having given (as all the countrey was told) £500 towards the repairing of the (yy) bishop's palace; and so great honourers of one another, that the bishop offered his services to marrie the patron's dear daughter and onely beloved child to Mr. Fowler, (*alias* Levison,)[3] and was accordingly sent for, (and I question not, nobly paid,) for confirming them first, and marrying them after.

But, not to detaine the reader too long from this precious order, this is a true copie of it to a tittle: —

"Whereas, in a late Act of Parliament for Uniformitie, it is enacted that every Parson, Vicar, Curate, Lecturer, or other Ecclesiasticall person neglecting or refusing before the Feast day of St.

[1] George Hall, D.D., Archdeacon of Canterbury, was son of the good Bishop Hall, and, probably entertaining a strong recollection of the sufferings which his father and himself underwent during the Usurpation, was very rigorous against the Non-conformists. He was consecrated Bishop of Chester in the year 1662, and also held the Rectory of Wigan, where he died in 1668.

[2] It should be *significavits*. A Significavit is a writ which issues out of the Chancery, upon a certificate given by the Ordinary, of a man that stands obstinately excommunicate by the space of forty days, for the laying him up in prison, without Bail or Mainprise, until he submit himself to the authority of the Church. It is so called, because *significavit* is an emphatical word in the writ. — Blount's *Law Dictionary*.

[3] Anne, only surviving child of Peter Venables, Esq., then Baron of Kinderton, married Francis Fowler, Esq., of Harnedge Grange, county Salop, who assumed the name of Leveson, on acceding to Sir Richard Leveson's estates.

Bartholomew, 1662, to declare openly before their respective congregations his assent and consent to the use of all things contained in the booke of Common Prayer established by the said Act, shall, *ipso facto*, be deprived; and that every person not being in holy orders by Episcopall ordination, and every Parson, Vicar, Curate, Lecturer, or other ecclesiasticall person, failing in his subscription to a declaration mentioned in the said Act to be subscribed before the Feast day of St. Bartholomew, 1662, shall be utterly disabled and, *ipso facto*, deprived, and his place be void, as if the person so failing were naturally dead. And whereas Adam Martindale, late Vicar of Rosterne, alias Rotherston, in the county of Chester, hath neglected to declare and subscribe according to the tenour of the said Act, I doe therefore declare the church of Rosterne, alias Rotherston, to be now void, and doe strictly charge the said Adam Martindale, late Vicar of the said church, to forbeare preaching, lecturing, or officiating in the said church or elsewhere in the Diocese of Chester. And the churchwardens of the said parish of Rosterne are hereby required (as by duty they are bound) to secure and preserve the said parish church of Rosterne from any invasion or intrusion of the said Adam Martindale, disabled and deprived, as abovesaid, by the said Act. And the churchwardens are also required, upon sight hereof, to shew this order to the said Adam Martindale, and cause the same to be published the next Sunday after in the parish church of Rosterne before the congregation, as they will answer the contrary. Given under my hand this 29th day of August, 1662.

"George Cestriens:

"To the Churchwardens of Rosterne, alias Rotherston,
in the County Palatine of Chester."

But some will perhaps enquire whether I had not done some extraordinary thing that provoked these two gentlemen to soe much wrath and severity? To which I answer as followeth: — I had taken full leave of the people, August 17th, preaching, to my remembrance, on that text, Acts, xx. 32, "And now, brethren, I commend you to God and the word of his grace," &c.; forbearing to tell the people what in particular I boggled at, and

all reflexions upon our superiours, or the Act of Uniformitie; onely saying, in generall, that such things were required as I could not satisfie myselfe to comply with. But upon Saturday after, in the evening, being in the house of my deare brother Mr. Newcome,[1] there came a post-letter from a trusty friend at London, signifying (to the best of my remembrance) that the Lord Chancellor Hyde and the Lord Chiefe Justice Bridgeman (after Lord Keeper) had beene with the king in order to indulgence for Non-conformers, and had so farre prevailed, that the king sent to Dr. Sheldon, then Bishop of London, about it. And though, where bishops would signify, or patrons present, there was no remedie, yet the king would take it unkindly from such as threw up their places unforced, — or to this effect. Upon this I was advised to goe home, and to preach to my old parishioners, if there were none other sent to that purpose. Accordingly, I prepared a discourse that night upon that easie text, Psal. cvi. 4, *initio*, "Remember me, O Lord, with the favour that thou bearest unto thy people." Upon which any ordinary preacher might *extempore* discourse profitably to a countrey congregation as much as two sermons came to; yet I put it not to that, but prepared as well as I could in so short a time. In the morning betimes I went home, and found the church doors open, the bells rung, the great one tolled, and a great congregation come together, but no man to breake the bread of life to their hungry soules. I officiated that day; but withall told them that I came not to preach in opposition to any man's title; but, because of the king's pleasure, (which I acquainted them with,) finding them altogether unprovided, I was willing to bestow my paines among them for that day. For this it was that such an hurrie was made. For the patron,

[1] In Newcome's Diary of this date is the following entry: — On the *Saturday* night we understood some hope of indulgence, and were greatly taken with the overture in the Councell about it. . . . . We were greatly taken with this mercy, and it was a joyful day to us, in the hopes it gave us that we should have some liberty. This joy we had did refresh us; and we had some life in it about ten dayes: insomuch that I preached the next Lord's Day at *Dunham*, on Ps. lxiii. 8. But this was the last time I was in the pulpit. The Lord lifted us up to cast us down, yet I hope it was in mercy."

being a perfect humourist,[1] was resolved, it seemes, that the place should be vacant that day, and the parish mocked with ringing the bells and tolling in the accustomed manner, that, coming together in
(zz) vaine, he might be sought to for supply. Soe much did he preferre his owne humours before the congregation's good.

Section xix.

As for the losse of the place, as it was a temporall damage to me of £60 per annum,[2] (or thereabouts,) I thanke God it troubled me not, I was so well prepared by a large foresight, the peace of mine owne conscience, and hopes that God would provide for me and mine. But there were some things concerning herewith that were more grievous: —

1. The clarke, that had by his debaucherie brought himselfe into debt, and great weaknesse of bodie, was so grosse that I durst not employ him to give out a psalme for feare of offending the congregation; used to side upon all occasions with mine enemies; and to receive his dues and mine at a buriall and spend all; would not by any intreaties be prevailed with (though he promised both) to keep a true account of funeralls when I was sicke; yet, being growne exceeding weake and poore, and (as I hoped) penitent, I did not onely forbeare to turn him out of his place, (as almost any one would have done,) but I tooke up his debts and paid them to the value of £10 or £11, for which I was content to take a field of lesse then an acre for eight yeares; which, at six per cent., came to 32s. per annum and above; and because it proved prettie well, I left it him very ranke, sowing it the last yeare with pease, which in such a case hath beene seldome done: and because I thought he could not well spare it from his family, though he had other corne-ground, I undertooke for him the office of parish register, and gave him the benefite of it for many yeares, till he was thought capable of it himselfe. So that this fellow, having his clarke's place by my connivance, worth about £10 a yeare, and the benefite of the register's place, worth (I

[1] Humourist — full of caprice.

[2] The value of the living of Rostherne is now returned at £131 *per annum*.

suppose) £5 more, with a little tenement of his owne free from all incumbrances, lived handsomely; yet this ungratefull wretch, when he saw my interest declining, sided againe with mine enemies, rid up and downe to many townes to get a booke of Common Prayer, to be a snare to me; was not onely a very chearfull witnesse against me in two or three of my troubles, but a busie informer, tattling to (az) Kinderton allmost everie weeke, where all that was bad enough would be beleeved against me; the Baron neither allowing me to speake with him, nor would he read any letter from me; and if any had any interest in him they durst not speake any thing in favour of me, lest they should make him of a kind friend an implacable adversary. Now it was a sad consideration to thinke what was like to be the reward of such a fellow, (as indeed he was soone after cut off,) and what a bad influence it would have upon the devout people inclining to Independencie, to have so vile a person so much employed in the publick worship of God.

2. I was so exceeding weake and sickely, that I could not shew (bz) myselfe so well satisfied with my sufferings as really I was.

3. I saw that the danger of separation from the publick assembly would be heightened by the generall dislike of my successor, his voice being so weake and lisping, that multitudes could not at all understand him, (that had understood me plainely,) and those that could, generally thought him a very meane preacher, (of which I shall hereafter give the reason, Sect. xx.) insomuch that Sir Peter Leicester thought him not fit the place, as he told me himselfe; and another gentleman, conformable to the bone, curst me one Lord's-day in the evening, for not keeping the place from such a bungler. Besides, his readinesse to read the Bishop's order against me, (though it did me a kindnesse, by shewing the grounds of my sufferings more plainely then I could safely do myselfe in my fare-well speech,) made many of them to account him an intruding wolfe, so hungry for my place as to be active in getting or keeping me out, before he had any title, either spirituall or civill. And then his deniall to allow me anything for my supplying the place from Lady-day to the 24th of August, (which came to above £22, whereof my wife did, long after,

by much importunity, get onely £10,) when I had delt so courteously to my predecessor's widow, did further raise their spleene against him. This occasioned such people's declining his company; (cz) and he, being young and sociable, alwayes either tabling in an ale-house or very neare one, was laid open to the temptation of wild company, and got such an habit of loving strong ale and brandy, that it prejudiced his studies, and at last killed him.[1]

4. Their displeasure was raised higher against all High Conformists by the preaching of another, that was sent by the Baron, the next Lord's-day, viz. Sept. 7th, 1662, of purpose to teese the congregation that had refused him, and trample upon me, whom they had chosen in his stead, and should have come the Lord's-day before to have read the Bishop's blessed orders, but was hindered by the sacrament at his own church. His text was Gal. iv. 18, "But it is good to be zealously affected alwayes in a good thing," &c.; out of which he observed two points, properly enough, viz. 1. That we ought to be zealously affected alwayes in a good thing; 2. That it must be a good thing that we should be zealously affected for. The former he dispatcht in the morning; the latter he came to in the afternoone; and tooke occasion to speake largely (but some thought weakely enough) against the Covenant. Then he insisted upon the perverse zeale of the Non-conformists, that would sooner lose all then comply with such easie things as were enjoyned by the Act of Uniformitie,[2] making every thing either so exceeding good, or extremely inconsiderable, that, if his word had beene gospell, we must

[1] The name of Martindale's successor does not appear in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire,* the Chester lists being very imperfect; it seems, however, that it was Benjamin Crosse, as the following entry occurs in the Parish Register of Rostherne:—"Funeralls: Anno Dom. 1672, Benjamin Crosse, Vicar of Rostherne, January 18."

[2] The grounds of dissent from the Act of Uniformity are given at large in the Non-Conformist's Memorial, Introd. p. 38, &c. The strongest of them were, the renouncing the Solemn League and Convenant; the necessity for undergoing Episcopal Ordination; the "doctrine of Real Baptismal Regeneration," contained in the Prayer Book; the use of godfathers and godmothers to the exclusion of parents, and the sign of the cross, in baptism; the doctrine of three orders among the clergy; and objections to many of the Articles and Canons.

of necessity be either fooles, or knaves in graine. But in doing this, he was guiltie of so many grosse mistakes (to call them no worse) in plaine matters of fact, against the plaine letter of the Act of Uniformitie, that it seemed a breach of charity to thinke he had (dz) ever read it. When the blessing was pronounced, I asked his friend, the ingenious Mr. Delves, who sate neare me, whether that Act did not require more then this gentleman had mentioned? To which he readily answered, Yes, it doth; and I replied, God will in time vindicate his servants from such injuries.

5. When I tooke my leave of Rotherston people, Aug. 17, I told them, among other things, it was not the greatnesse of the yearely meanes that either brought me to them or kept me with them, for I had beene invited to another place in this county, (meaning Ashton-upon-Mersey,) of a double value to this, where I did not know so much as one that was against me. An old thicke-eared man either understood me, or pretended to understand me, that I said there was no man against my coming to Rotherston; and bringing this his mistake to his neighbour that had formerly accused me to have (ez) robbed the poore, he readily embraced it, and promoted this report, that, in my farewell speech, I spoke some true, some false.

Section xx.

About this time my brother Thomas died, and left me a feoffee with my cousin Barton, then schoolemaster of Holland, mentioned in the former part, and my cousin Edmund Winstanley, there also described, to see to the rights of his wife and younger children; which trust (I thanke God) two of us faithfully discharged. He was (I hope) an honest man; but his great weaknesse was, that, though he would not be drunke, he sometimes spent too much time in the ale-house. I thought this following was a good signe of a just mind,—that, though he tooke himselfe disobliged by his eldest sonne, yet considering that he had first leased out, and then sold the land in Hardshall that came by my mother, he did, at his owne proper charge, take a new lease of the tenement, putting in his said sonne's life, and his sonne's sonne's life, and assigned it to his said

eldest sonne under the easie charge of ten pounds per annum for
(fz) 5 yeares, allowing his sonne to take his portions with two wives freely to himselfe. His corpse was also interred with our parentes and sister Jane, neare the Diall, in Prescott Church-yard, July 6th, 1663.

Section xxi.

About Michaelmasse, 1662, I removed my family from the Vicarage to a little house at Camp-greene, about a quarter of a mile off, where we dwelt above three yeares and an halfe, viz. till May-day, 1666. When I went thither (in regard of my great troubles, and the detaining of my right by my successor, and another gentleman whom the Baron had encouraged to keep backe some rent due to me, promising to beare him out,) I was threescore pounds in debt, or very neare it. I could not imagin how I should pay this any way, but by selling my little tenement in Leigh, where we now dwell, and then I might perhaps save 40 to 50 pounds to augment my stocke for a racke. But (God be praised) while I staid there I paid off all
(gz) that debt, and bestowed 40 pounds upon marleing part of my ground in Tatton, which many yeares after brought in more advantage then my tenement. If any aske how this could be without a miracle, he may thus be satisfied: I had sent me from London, at four severall times, 24 pounds, that is, 10, 7, 5, and 2; from Chester 11 pounds, viz. 5, 3, and 3; from a noble friend in the countrey 6 pounds, that is, 5 and 1; all which comes to 41 pounds; and its probable I had so much more in small parcells, now forgotten, as made it up 50. The 10 pounds my wife wrangled out of my successor, together with a table, formes, and ceiling, sold him for about 4 pounds more, together with the rent detained by the other gentleman, after paid me, made up some 20 pounds more. And removing at May-day, 1666, to dwell in part of an house, and where I resolved to keep onely an horse and a cow, I parted with so many kine, sheep, and household goods, as tooke me about 30 pounds. And then, for my yearely subsistence, I had this house in Leigh, about 10 pounds per annum, one yeare with another, from

some of the people; abundance of French wheat and rye out of my ground in Tatton, amounting to 12 pounds, or twentie markes a yeare; and what I got by schooling and tabling of young gentlemen and others for two of the first yeares, and teaching mathematickes afterwards, which was farre more considerable, bringing me in sometimes 15, sometimes 20 shillings a weeke or more, beside my owne diet and keeping of my horse. Thus, though my condition seemed threatening, and farre from such as could invite me to throw (hz) up 60 pounds a yeare for the hopes of it, (as the counterminer raves;)[1] for, besides that all was uncertaine, 50 pounds from abroad, and 35 pounds from my people in three yeares and an halfe, would all make but 85 pounds; whereas my vicarage meanes came to 210 pounds in that time; yet I acknowledge that this, with God's blessing upon what I had and did, was a very comfortable supply to us.

While I dwelt at Camp-greene, it was my custom, so long as it would be borne, to heare my successor constantly, and to recite his sermons; and that evening to repeat his sermons at home to an housefull of parishioners of the devoutest sort, adding a discourse of mine owne, and praying for a blessing upon all: and the people would say, that they liked his sermons better in the repetition then in the preaching. The reason whereof, beside prejudice against him and affection to me, was this: he usually had good texts and good matter, more sutable to us then to his owne condition, company, or private discourse; the scope of them being to comfort poore suffering Christians, occasioned (as was thought) by the great assistance he had from the sermon-notes of his dead brother, who was an excellent scholar, and preached after that rate when many of his party were at an under. But the heads of his sermon being very few, and drawne out to great length rather by a loose and oratorious,

[1] This probably refers to some attack upon him or his party, to the purport that they had not been losers by their ejection. Nothing, indeed, can be more meritorious than Adam's manly conduct under his deprivation, or the liberality with which he and his suffering friends (as Newcome also testifies) were supported by such of the gentry as adhered to their party.

then a quicke and sententious enlargement, (which yet a nimble tongue, and articulate voice, and a gracefull delivery would much have holpen,) that, which was good in itself, in delivering seemed to (iz) freeze in his mouth; and before the second note was named, the force of the first was lost with vulgar hearers: whereas I, that writ long-hand, taking onely the maine heads, with the substance of the enlargement in a briefer way, leaving out such things as the people counted little better then jingles, and repeating it with as much vigour as I was able, one note seconded another yet warme upon the hearers' heartes, and helped to raise their affections to an higher degree.

Section xxii.

I had, at this time, very great libertie, and employment in private; and my health was now soe good, in comparison of what I had towards the end of my publick libertie, that I really beleeve the Act of Uniformitie saved my life, by taking me off employment too (jz) heavie for one entering into a consumption, as I was thought to be. But as for my schooling of young gentlemen, I foresaw it would be short-lived; for the Bishop preached fiercely against Non-conformists at Bowdon, and as one that had a notable facultie of extracting salt water out of a pumice, upon those words — *We are not ignorant of his devices*, 2 Cor. ii. 11; made even the most harmlesse practices of the Non-conformists devices of Sathan, soe farre as his Episcopall authoritie would authenticate such doctrine. Sir Job Charleton also, upon the bench at Chester, gave a severe charge against Non-conformists being entertained as tutors in great families, or teaching private schools; which our severe justices highly approved, particularly Sir Peter Leicester, expressely to me. Mine enemies begun to threaten me, and my friends to be discouraged; insomuch that one noble friend, that had promised to send me his sonne upon very good rates, was diverted by a neighbour gentleman, whose displeasure might be prejudiciall to him. And it was now become unsafe to suffer my maid to come into my schoole, or to entertaine any scholars that were of age to be examined upon oath

against me, or to keep those I had till they were soe. I thought of physicke, and was encouraged by an antiquated practitioner, promising me bookes and other assistance; but I considered the time would be long, practice uncertaine, and above all, that the lives of (kz) men were not to be jested with, and bethought me of a lesse dangerous studie, viz. of some usefull parts of the mathematickes; and though I was now almost 40 yeares old, and knew little more then arithmetick in the vulgar way, and decimalls in Jager's[1] bungling method, I fell close to the studie of decimalls in a more artificiall manner, logarithmes, algebra, and other arts, since by me professed; in which work I was encouraged and assisted by my noble Lord Delamer, who gave me many excellent bookes and instruments, lent me his choisest manuscripts, imparted freely any knowledge he had, and (which was as usefull as anything else) put me upon answering hard and tedious questions, which the distemper of his owne head some times prohibited him to beat out himselfe, and tooke very kindly any new rule that I could invent to make operations more short or plaine then was to be found in bookes.[2]

Section xxiii.

While I was fitting myselfe for this worke, following my studies close, early and late, that I might not for this neglect either my

[1] Robert Jager's Artificial Arithmetick in Decimals. Lond. 1651, 8vo.

[2] This testimony is as high in favour of Lord Delamer's own learning and liberality, as of Adam's indomitable spirit in undertaking, at so late a period of life, a new and difficult branch of study, in which so few succeed who have not been early trained to that species of mental application. Of his very great proficiency in almost every branch of practical mathematics, there can be no doubt; as will appear from the subsequent notes. In his Dedication of his "Countrey-Survey-Book" to Lord Delamer, he testifies to the assistance which he had received from his lordship in his mathematical studies, saying, "That it was writ at Dunham by your humble servant, who, besides his domestic dependance, cannot forbear, without ingratitude, to tell the world that your lordship's kindness hath very much encouraged and assisted him in Mathematical Studies, not onely by a free communication of many a choice notion, both *vivâ voce*, and by the loan of manuscripts; but also by a considerable number of excellent Books and costly Instruments bountifully bestowed upon him."

people or my scholars, (my wife being fearefull it would doe me hurt, and neither myselfe, nor any other, good,) the act against conventicles comes out, whereby my labour among my people was so multiplied, by dividing them into so many parcells and preaching the same sermon over so oft, (perhaps four or five times on a day,)
(lz) that I was under a necessity to throw up my schoole; as I did, placing out mine owne sonne (at Sir Peter Brookes' instance, undertaking to pay the master,) at Manchester school, under Mr. Wickens,[1] a most excellent teacher. I was very well used by my brother and sister Hill for his diet and lodging; yet that, together with many costly bookes, and apparell suitable to ordinary men's sonnes in that proud towne, (he never having any facultie of taking care of his cloaths,) was prettie heavie to one of my small estate. So that something must be followed whereby I might honestly get somewhat, and yet would give me leave to find time for lecturing among my people: and God presently put me into the way; My Lord Delamer, as his instrument, commanding me to his towne of Warrington,[2] where, notwithstanding the backwardnesse of the schoolemaster and the envie of some sciolists, I had scholars enow, which

[1] John Wickens, B.D., (not Wickes, as his name is given in the *History of the Grammar School*, p. 105,) was of C. C. C. Oxon., and was High Master of the Grammar School of Manchester from 1652 to 1675. He was of the Puritan party, and member of the Manchester Presbyterial Classis. He was an excellent scholar. Mr. Newcome read with him the elements of Hebrew; and on one occasion, when he was likely to resign the school on the ground of inadequate salary, (which the Feoffees were induced to augment on account of his great merits,) Mr. Newcome much laments the loss which that establishment was about to sustain. He married Penelope, second daughter of the Rev. John Chadwicke, Rector of Standish, by his first wife, Alice, daughter of Richard Turner, Esq., of the county of Essex. It is supposed that Mr. Wickens was son of the Rev. John Wickens, Master of the Grammar School of Rochdale in 1638, a native of Tylehurst, county Berks, and educated by the Rector of that parish, who was father to Dr. Lloyd, who died Bishop of Worcester, in 1717, aged 90.

[2] In his "Countrey-Survey-Book," he thus alludes to his successful teaching at Warrington:—"When I first began to instruct youths in mathematical learning in *Warrington*, some of my boys' parents desired a sensible demonstration of their sons' proficiency, in somewhat that they themselves could in some measure understand; and particularly pitched upon measuring a piece of land. Whereupon I

(I thanke God) profited well, and I got enough by them, viz. 20s. or 25s. a weeke, to the best of my remembrance.

Afterwards I was wished to come to Preston in Ammoundernesse, at the breaking up of the schoole for Christmasse, where, besides four shopkeepers that were my scholars, I had a set of brave lads that were not onely content, but accounted themselves happie, to make up of that time (that others plaid away) for their improvement. In this place they vied with Warrington for liberality, and in both places I had the happinesse of spirituall libertie, and employment among the Christians of most eminencie. (mz) After Christmasse, 1664, I was entertained at Hoghton-Tower to instruct the wise and virtuous Mr. Charles (now Sir Charles) Hoghton,[1] his brother Mr. Benjamin, and some others, where Sir Richard, my ladie, and indeed all the family, shewed me great respect; and for libertie to preach there was more then I desired, for they had an able and godly chaplaine of their owne, that I delighted to heare, besides many eminent men that came occasionally, of which the most are now dead. Now because this was like to be a long businesse of a yeare's continuance or more, I would not be tied to constant attendance,

took four or five of my scholars to the Heath with me, that had only been exercised within the walls of the school, and never saw (that I know of) so much as a Chain laid on the ground; and, to the admiration of the spectators, and especially of a skilful Surveyor then living in the town, they went about their work as regularly, and dispatched it with as much expedition and exactness, as if they had been old Land-Meters."—p. 66.

[1] The mother of this Mr. Charles Hoghton was Lady Sarah Hoghton, daughter of the first Earl of Chesterfield, who was accounted "very eminent for religion." After the Act of Uniformity, this family had service conducted by Non-conforming ministers. Mr. Tong, in his Life of Matthew Henry, speaks of her as "a great patroness of religion and non-conformity." She was living in 1693. There was a regular Non-conformist congregation formed under her patronage, and that of her son, Sir Charles, here mentioned. Sir Charles died in 1710, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Henry Hoghton, who died in 1768, at the age of 89. To him succeeded the younger Sir Henry Hoghton, his nephew, who was the last baronet of the family who took much interest in the affairs of Non-conformity. He is sketched, by a local satirist of the day, under the title of "A Calvin in Crayons." For more particulars see Hunter's *Life of Heywood*, p. 106. Martindale alludes to his having taught Sir Charles Houghton, in his "Countrey-Survey-Book," p. 34.

but still taught one weeke and went home the other to bestow my paines among mine old people, though this was to my worldly (nz) losse; for my pay and other priviledges at Houghton were worth about 20s. a weeke, whereas what I got among my people was not neare halfe so much; but that I stood not upon, having this way more opportunitie to doe good, and maintenance sufficient. When I had done there, I taught Mr. Wilson of Tunley, for a short time, and Mr. Bankes of Winstandley,[1] (till about Lady-day, 1666,) who was also very civill and liberall to me, lamenting that the Five-mile Act,[2] and the propinquity of his house to Wigan, forced me to desist there. About this time there were some overtures that I should take an house in Houghton for my family, and instruct the young gentlemen in logick, but that designe broke.

Section xxiv.

But I am sensible, that by endeavouring to lay such things together that were closely connected, I am gone a full halfe yeare beyond the bounds of this sixth Septennium. I shall, therefore, close up this chapter with a recitall of some remarkable things not yet mentioned, and some few of an inferiour nature, as —

[1] William Bankes, Esq., of Winstanley, in the parish of Wigan, married, about 1658, Frances, daughter and heiress of Peter Leigh, of Birch. He had issue three sons. One of them afterwards became Rector of Bury, and died there unmarried, after an useful and charitable life, in 1743.

[2] The Five-mile Act, as it was called, was one of the most impolitic measures of the time; and also the most unjust, as applied to the whole body of Non-conformists; who, though many of them most peaceably and loyally disposed, were all included in the same restrictive measures, on account of the turbulence of some sects of Anabaptists and Independents. The act provided, that all Non-conformist ministers were to remove to the distance of five miles from any place in which they had ever exercised their ministry, and not come, except when travelling, within the same distance of any city, or corporate town. The penalty for each offence was forty pounds, one-third of which was to go to the informer. They might, however, keep themselves out of the scope of the act, by taking the political oath prescribed by the Act of Uniformity, with the additional clause that "they would not at any time endeavour any alteration of government, either in Church or State." The operation of this act was the source of great sufferings to many.

I. There was a dreadfull comet (some thought two or more, see Wing's Computatio Catholica,) in November and December, 1664. (oz)

II. A dreadfull plague in London following it, 1665.[1] This very justly turned the streame of some great tradesmen's charity from some of us Non-conformists in the countrey, to their owne poore; of which I had no cause to complaine, being got out of debt, and in a good order to live, (blessed be God,) so that not envie, but pittie, was my worke, both in duty and practice.

III. The death of my sister Margaret, who died in Ashton-in-Makerfield, and was there buried. She was the last of all my father's children save myselfe, who have now survived them all 20 years. God grant I may be able to give a good account for that (pz) time, and the rest I have had to doe good in.

IV. The birth of my youngest daughter, Hannah, January 13, 1665, at the Camp-greene in Rotherston.

V. Deliverances to the number of four, vouchsafed to myselfe in (qz) great dangers: —

1. Riding in a cart into my ground in Tatton, to divide corne with my partners in a rainy harvest, a foolish young fellowe whipped the horses violently as I was lighting, and I was throwne many yards off, and light upon my head, which made me to carrie it statelily a month after; and (to use the workmen's phrase that were present) it was England to a burden of fearne that my neck had beene broken.

2. November 30th after, as I was talking with a friend with whom I rid to Warrington faire, his horse, being stoned, gave me such a blow on the shin, that I verily thought, by the anguish, that my leg had beene broke all to pieces (which might have cost me my life, as it did four of mine acquaintance;) but I having on, not onely a good paire of bootes, but also a strong paire of buskins buckled upon them, (as I used then to ride in the winter,) it pleased God I had no harme, (perhaps I was partly out of the horse's reach,) and within an houre or two the paine was quite gone.

[1] See note, page 6.

3. The same winter, in an hard frost, as I was riding over an high causey, my mare's feet (though she was cawkin'd[1] with steele) missed their hold, and downe she fell into a narrow valley, and I under her, with a large telescope, having wooden tables, hung at my side; yet neither I nor the instrument were considerably harmed, though the valley was neare foure yards deep.

4. At Mr. Bankes's house in Winstandley, I, going one morning early into the kitchen to light a candle, my fire being gone out and the family all in bed, was in great danger to be spoiled[2] by a great fierce mastiffe shut up in the kitchen, which came terribly upon me when I had nothing in my hand save a small candlesticke, and I a perfect stranger to him, and engaged beyond possibility of retreat; but by speaking him faire, and clapping my hand on my breast, the gentleman was prevailed with to give me the friendly re-salutation of wagging his taile, and all was peace betweene us.[3]

VI. A contest wherein I was engaged against my will, concerning the lawfullnesse of being present at the booke of Common Prayer, and joyning in the worship administered by it; which was thus: —

After Mr. Douglas[4] had printed two or three neate pamphlets against Mr. Crofton's *Reformation not Separation*,[5] at last Mr. Gilpin,[6]

[1] Cawkin'd — sharpened in a particular manner.

[2] Spoiled — seriously injured.

[3] A strong testimony to the value of good-breeding under the most trying circumstances.

[4] This Mr. Douglas is probably Mr. Thomas Douglas, once Rector of St. Olave's, London, who fell into some disgrace, and after travelling, and taking the degree of M.D. at Padua, returned to London, got into debt, and died in obscurity. The titles of his two pamphlets are, "A Sober Testimony against Sinful Compliances;" and, "Zerubbabel," a defence of the former.

[5] Mr. Zachary Crofton, once of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, was a man of considerable ability, and a voluminous writer of pamphlets. He got into a controversy with Bishop Gauden on the subject of the Solemn League and Covenant, and was so far worsted in the contest as to become a prisoner in the Tower for his arguments. He differed from most of his brethren so far as to think attendance on his parish church a duty, though he could not conscientiously use the Prayer-book; hence the title of his pamphlet.

[6] Richard Gilpin, M.D., was Rector of Greystock, in Cumberland. He seems, from the account of him given in the *Non-conformist's Memorial*, vol. i. p. 386, to

an eminent divine in the north, neare Newcastle, answers it in manuscript; which being hugely cried up as an unanswerable piece, Mr. Crofton desired a copie, which at last was obtained, and copied over againe for the use of some in these parts before it was sent to Mr. Crofton. I confesse, when I had reade it over, I did neither thinke so highly of it, nor so meanely of Mr. Crofton, but that I beleeved he had done greater matters then a full reply to that manuscript came to; and I made bold to tell some soe that insulted over him. But the plague being then in London, and Mr. Crofton under great distractions by the death of diverse of his neare relations,[1] the expected replie came not soe soone as to hinder redoubled insultations, which so warmed me, that I undertooke a (rz) reply to Mr. Gilpin myselfe; which when I had almost finished, a reply comes from Mr. Crofton, to which Mr. Gilpin after rejoyned, and what further became of it I know not. Many of the congregationall way, or inclining to it, were very angry at me for appearing so vigorously against Mr. Gilpin's answer, and reported up and downe that I had given out I would answer it before I had ever seene it; and this report was sent to Mr. G. himselfe, who tooke notice of it (sz) in one of his papers, not over brotherly: whereas the true matter of fact was onely thus, and noe more: — I being at a great funerall, William Barrat told me publickly, among abundance of people, that there was a very considerable piece come out against Mr. Crofton, shewing that he had mistated the question, and much more, in a boasting way. I answered, I had not seene it; but if he would helpe me to a copie, I would undertake it should be answered.

have been a most excellent person, both as to natural ability, power of eloquence, and sentimental and practical piety. The Bishoprick of Carlisle was offered to him, and was refused, as it had been by his still more distinguished relative, the celebrated Bernard Gilpin, before him. He was at one time curate to Dr. Wilkins at the Savoy.

[1] "Mr. Crofton took a farm at Little Barford, in Bedfordshire. In the time of the plague his son and daughter (whom he had set up in business in London) went down to him, but could not be admitted into the village, and were kept in little huts at a distance, he hiring a man to look after them. They all died, and Mr. Crofton took care of the man's children." — *Memorial*, vol. i. p. 103.

But to prevent mistakes, I desired him to take notice, that I did not promise to answer it myselfe, nor that the answer should be a confutation, but either a consenting or a contradicting answer, as it (tz) deserved. This was all that caused the hubbub; which, whether it were not modest enough, (especially upon such provocation,) let any moralist judge.

SOME NOTES

UPON THIS CHAPTER.

([a]) There is oft much mercie in the timing of mercies; a charge when I was able to beare it, producing a good supply when I needed it, was very advantageous, because so seasonable.

([b]) Contentions are but skinned over by cessation of actuall unkindnesses, but hearte-healing reacheth the bottom of the sore.

([c]) Good by how much more common, so much the better it is.

([d]) The old proverbe is very true, as many find by wofull experience: — "He that will not when he may, when he would he shall have nay."

([e]) I have read of one, that thinking to kill his enemie by a stab with a dagger, saved his life, cut an otherwise incurable imposthume.[1] So sometimes ignorant malice helpes when it would undoe.

([f]) In an evill time the prudent must keep silence.

([g]) Different apprehensions or interests should not hinder love amongst Christians.

([h]) Ignorance and malice, by misrepresentation, turne honey into gall and worme-wood.

([i]) Though God can worke by unlikely meanes, or without any, it is ill to tempt him to do soe.

([j]) God's providences favouring or frowning upon a designe are worthy our observation, for such things come not by chance.

([k]) Seemingly real and zealous friends, when they are no more, fall off when their owne ends are thwarted.

([l]) It is miserable when, to serve a present turne, we use such meanes as will produce mischiefe afterwards.

([m]) Grievous sin in the roote is likely to make any indeavour unfruitfull and abortive.

[1] The story here alluded to is in Plutarch's Symposium.

([n]) Those promises that are sinfull, whether kept or broken, are not like to profit the makers.

([o]) Things that are both honestly intended and done, too oft fall under unjust censure.

([p]) Dangerous snares are easily fallen into in bad company.

([q]) We may be sadly involved in sin by silence and connivance at sinfull practises which we might prevent. Prov. xxiv. 11, 12.

([r]) Unwellcome faithfullnesse oft begat hatred.

([s]) The least are lesse to be delt with. Kings are sometimes more moderate then their officers.

([t]) Arbitrary power, if it must be any where, had need to be placed in very good hands.

([u]) Inconsiderate rage keeps no due bounds.

([v]) Some, by striking at such as they hate, hurt such as they love.

([w]) It it a wofull thing to encourage mischievous people.

([x]) Unnecessary selfe-accusations before such as designe us mischiefe are carefully to be avoided.

([y]) It is an hard case when governours will do what they please, right or wrong, and will heare no reason against what they soe do.

([z]) Some Atheistes have affirmed that honour in a gentleman will supply the roome of conscience sufficiently, but instances may be given wherein it hath done it very sorrily.

([aa]) Malice makes men unthrifty,

([bb]) and restlesse also.

([cc]) It is in vaine to stand upon proofe in a plaine case.

([dd]) Malice sometimes prevailes with gentlemen to accept of base employment.

([ee]) It is an hard case when poore men are accused by gentlemen of quality against truth and conscience.

([ff]) Caution is necessary among unreasonable men.

([gg]) For peace sake we must sometimes pay what is not due. Matt. xvii. 26-7.

([hh]) Bad resolutions are too oft kept.

([ii]) Great politicians sometimes spoile their businesse by overdoing it.

([jj]) It is but a hollow kind of friendship to promise indeavours of helpe which we ourselves have rendered fruitlesse.

([kk]) When enemies are fierce God is gracious.

([ll]) Friends in need are friends indeed.

([mm]) The case may be soe, that it is better to beare unjust blame, then by vindicating ourselves to bring good men into trouble.

([nn]) It is very remarkable when God forces such as have beene spitefull at his ordinances to vindicate them.

([oo]) The rabble, encouraged by great ones, is a furious monster.

([pp]) It hinders the effect of sermons when people take that for passion in the preacher which is reason and conscience.

([qq]) Wicked people, by flasquering[1] to avoid shame, belime them, like birds, faster in it.

([rr]) How wonderfully doth God take men off evill in the nick of time.

([ss]) When things cannot be brought on legally, malice finds out extraordinary wayes.

([tt]) When law and conscience both speake for us it is no hard matter to be courageous.

([uu]) Non-conformists must be prepared to beare it with patience, if they be made new presidents of severity, where presidents are wanting.

([vv]) Hast is then to be esteemed preposterous in businesse of consequence, when a little time will do it more surely.

([ww]) It is a foolish thing to put ourselves into the power of severe persons when we may avoid it by a little cost.

([xx]) Snares are to be avoided by lawfull meanes.

([yy]) The lawes will not serve some men's turne, but they must be pieced out with riches. The Baron of Kinderton (as I was severall times told) could not beleeve that I would refuse to conforme; but the Bishop put all out of doubt by not sending[2] the booke till the time was past, so that I could not have obeyed the Act of Uniformitie if I would. Though its true (but that they knew not) I could not have conformed if the way had beene left open for me.

([zz]) Humoursome men will have things after them, how unreasonable soever, and though innocent people suffer never so much.

([aaz]) We must expect to be forsaken of such as we have most obliged, if unworthy persons, when the world goes against us. Such will then be found like the Persians worshipping the rising sun.

([bbz]) It is a desirable thing to be cheerfull in suffering persecution, and to appear such for others sake.

([ccz]) Ministers should be very carefull not to lose themselves, or their interests in the affections of the people where they are to officiate, lest they drive them away to other societies which profit them not.

[1] Flickering — fluttering about.

[2] It does not appear that the Bishop was bound to send it. His last reason (that he could not have conformed) should have been his first.

([dz]) Among other wrongs, we must be prepared to beare base slanders from the pulpit.

([ez]) Rooted malice makes men prone to catch at any little occasion to beleeve and speake evill of a man groundlessely, without provocation.

([fz]) If we be suspitious we had wronged any one, it is good to rectifie it while we have power.

([gz]) God can and sometimes doth blesse us wonderfully in our outward estates when, for our faithfullnesse, we seeme to be in a way to ruine them.

([hz]) If God help us to wait on him in his owne way, he can easily help us to maintainance, and we may depend on him for it.

([iz]) Ministers that would do good in a countrey-auditory must not studie to be copious orators, but to stirre up the people's affections with pithie matter and a warme delivery.

([jz]) God sees what worke is proportionable to our strength, and may wisely limit us to that, against our will.

([kz]) It is good, before we take up a new calling, to consider how like we are to doe good in it.

([lz]) Lower businesse must veile to more weighty.

([mz]) Outward prosperity without spirituall libertie, is lame and imperfect.

([nz]) Lesse outward advantage, with opportunities of doing more good, are rather to be chosen then more gaine without them.

([oz]) Dreadfull signes from Heaven should be observed.

([pz]) Time is a talent to be accounted for.

([qz]) Speciall deliverances should be recorded. I have heard of old Judge Warburton, that he set up a memorandum in his hall of a signall one.

([rz]) We ought to put to our helping hand when we are perswaded truth suffers by our silence.

([sz]) Good and learned men may misse their marke through misinformation.

([tz]) It is hard to speake with caution enough, even before good and wise men, deepely prejudiced.

CHAPTER VII.

I. The coming forth of the Five-mile Act, and the death of my bitter neighbour. II. My teaching Mathematickes at Manchester. III. My sonne's going to Cambridge, Oxford, and Worcestershire to Mr. Hickman. IV. The description of a dialling instrument printed, 1638. V. The removall of my family, and my sonne's Laureation at Glasgow, and teaching at home. VI. My preaching abroad, and troubles. VII. Bishop Wilkins's offers and indeavours. VIII. My teaching at Middleton. IX. Entertainment at Dunham. X. The King's declaration for indulgence. XI. The death of my first successour.

Section i.

Towards the latter end of the yeare 1665, the Oxford Act,[1] whereby Non-conformists were banished from corporations and their owne people to the distance of five miles, came out, (before many of their (a) friends did reach Oxford,) and was suddenly to come in force. I thought to have removed my family into Hoghton, neare the Tower, as was hinted, Chap. vi. Sect. xxiii.; but my people, and some others of my friends, were utterly against it; so that I yielded that my family should, at May, 1666, remove to a part of the house belonging to Mr. Joseph Allen, of Birken-heath, in Rotherston, I myselfe going, when the act commenced, first to see some friends, and afterwards to teach mathematickes in Manchester. When I went away, mine acquaintance in the parish were generally much troubled; but some few that were mine enemies were well pleased, among whom my bitter neighbour, the cornet, was reckoned for one. But if it (b) was so, he had little cause or time to rejoice in my departure; for he then lay desperately sicke, and lived not 48 houres after I was gone.

[1] Newcome says, [Oct. 9, 1665,] "The Lord shewed us mercy, that in our county we smarted not in that Preface to the Act which passed at *Oxford*, for it was introduced by a pretence of the dangerousness of those kind of men, whom they were forced to imprison, and now by a law would banish from their places."

Section ii.

When I came to teach at Manchester, I had much encouragement from Mr. Wickens, master of the free-schoole, who sent me a good number of his most ingenious boys, and admired their great proficiencie. But one that was a teacher in the towne, and some others that thought themselves fit for such worke, that knew nothing of decimalls, logarithmes, or the new species way, contemned and assaulted me, sending me questions; which I quickly returned answered, and propounded another to every one that had sent any (c)
to me, and then I had done with them. But I had much adoe to keep in my scholars from revenging my quarrells too farre; for when they, by skill in logarithmes, could in an houre answer such a question as these professours could not solve in a month, (as, for example, such as this: What is 5d. 3qs. a day, to continue 300 yeares, worth in readie money at £6. 12s. 6d. per cent.?) it was next to impossible to keep my pragmaticall youths from running downe these old soakers with their Record's Arithmetick.[1] As for old Richard Martinscroft, who had more true skill in him then they all, though he was a papist, he never opposed nor contemned me, but (d)
was alwayes civill to me, and communicative.

Here I continued till after the fire in London, and then, winter coming on, I gave it over for that season, and came againe the next summer, and had very good employment both yeares, both ministeriall and mathematicall.

Section iii.

In the later of these yeares, viz. 1667, Mr. Wickens told me my sonne was fully ripe for the University, and advised me to send him thither. I resolved he should be no stranger to academicall learning; but how this might be done needed consideration; for I was not free to have him engaged in such oaths, subscriptions, or practices as I could not downe with myselfe; not that I would tie him to be of

[1] "Record's Arithmetic, &c., afterward amended by Mr. *John Dee*, and since enlarged, &c. by John Mellis." London, 1652.

mine opinion when he was once a man of competent yeares and abilities to choose for himselfe; but, if possible, I desired he might
(e) be a good scholar without being involved in what he understood not. In order to this, I sent him up to Cambridge at the commencement, entred him in Trinity-Colledge, and paid his detriments[1] a good while there, though he came downe immediately; and after he had learned some logicke in the countrey I sent him up to Oxford, tabled him in a private house, and my noble friend, Sir Peter Brooke prevailed with a gentleman of Brazen-nose-Colledge to give him his tuition in his chamber. He could not, indeed, be admitted to disputations in the hall, because no member of the colledge; but he might be present at those in the Schooles. Here he profited well, but was wearied out with his pragmaticall old schoole-fellowes,
(f) that would be ever asking when he must be entred, and why he lost his time; to which it was not convenient to give any account. When I understood his trouble, I went up to him, taking Mr. Hickman's house[2] in my way, (about five miles from Stourbridge, in Worcester-shire,) whom I found readie and willing to receive him. But I thought it was best first to take him up to London, where I found noble friends willing to assist me as to the charge,
(g) if I would remove him to Mr. Hickman's: Sir Peter Brooke also, and Mr. Foley, of Whitley-court,[3] (the great benefactor of England,)

[1] A term at Colleges for the current expenses of students.

[2] Mr. Hickman's academy was at Dusthorpe, near Bromsgrove, in Worcestershire. He was a B.D., and a celebrated preacher of Oxford, and had been turned out of a Fellowship at Magdalene College. He was the author of many able controversial works. After continuing his academy for some years he retired to Holland, and was minister of an English congregation at Leyden. — *Life of Heywood.*

[3] The Foleys are an old family in Worcestershire, who made a large fortune in the iron trade, and of whom are descended the present noble family of that name. Thomas Foley, Esq., grandfather of the first lord, married Anne, daughter of John Browne, of Spelmonden, County of Kent, Esq., whose great fortune was added to the further increase of his patrimony by the iron trade, which is described by Richard Baxter, the celebrated Non-conformist, as being "got from almost nothing, and that with so just and blameless dealing, that all men that ever he had to do with, magnified his great integrity and honesty, which was questioned by none."

were noble in their gifts. He staid with this learned tutor two yeares, who had a deare respect for him, and brought him clearely through the whole bodie of philosophie. And this extraordinary mercie he had,—that as his master in Manchester had his health well while he staid, and soone after fell into greate weaknesse, so his tutor in Worcester-shire had a good free time while he was with him, though he was quickly after involved in great sutes and troubles, and not long after went into Holland, where he yet remaines.

Section iv.

When I was in Oxford about my son's businesse, I communicated some notions I had in my head to the learned Dr. Wallis,[1] concerning a dialling instrument that should take the inclination, reclination, and declination of any plaine, and enable a woman or other person that had no skill in mathematickes, to draw a diall upon any sort of plaine, horizontall or verticall, yea upon a tree or a rock. That acute gentleman understood it as well by my description, as he had

[1] Dr. John Wallis, the celebrated mathematician, was the son of the Rev. John Wallis, Incumbent of Ashford, in Kent. He was educated, along with his distinguished contemporary, (who was an honour to this county,) Horrocks, at Emmanuel College, in Cambridge. He was afterwards Fellow of Queen's; and in the Civil War, taking the side of the Parliament, he made himself useful to his party, by decyphering intercepted letters, an art in which he was eminent. He afterwards obtained the sequestered Living of Fenchurch, and became one of the secretaries to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. He joined those meetings of scientific men which afterwards gave rise to the formation of the Royal Society. He opposed the rise of Independency, and joined in a remonstrance against the execution of Charles I. He was then appointed Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford by the Parliamentary visitors, and applied himself diligently to the study of mathematics. Afterwards he engaged in his celebrated controversy with Hobbes, in which his wit and sarcastic severity were as remarkable as his profound mathematical knowledge. He now turned his power of deciphering to the benefit of the Royalists, by which he obtained the favour of the king, and became one of the royal chaplains. He was a most voluminous writer, both as a mathematician and divine. The most distinguished of his works in the former department, is his *Arithmetica Infinitorum;* and in the latter, his *Discourses on the Trinity.* He died October 28, 1703, in his 88th year.

had the instrument to looke on, and approved it for sound and good. So at London I communicated the composure of the instrument to
(h) Mr. Edward Fage, of the Sugar Loaf, in Hosier-lane, mathematicall instrument maker, and to another at the Atlas, in New Cheapside, in Moore Fields, (who furnished me with one for a friend in the countrey,) and published a description of it, which was printed for Mr. Coniers, of the Raven, in Duck Lane, 1668.[1]

Section v.

Before my sonne had fully spent his two yeares with Mr. Hickman, my family, finding themselves straitened for roome, and my wife being willing to keep a little stock of kine, as she had done formerly, and some inconveniences falling out (as is usuall) by two families under a roofe, removed at the end of three yeares to a new house, not completely furnished, belonging to a neare neighbour, John Urston, of Briddon-weare. Hence I tooke a journey with my sonne to Glasgow, in Scotland, in Aprill, 1670; where, being examined by the Principall and Regent for that yeare's Laureation, he was admitted into the class of magistrands; that is, such as were to commence Masters of Arts about 17 weekes after. In which time he run through their whole written bodie of philosophie, went with approbation through the smart examination on the Blacke-Stone, and was Laureated; that is, admitted Master of Arts.[2]

[1] Mr. Hawkins, whose researches in this matter are unwearied, has discovered this rare tract in the British Museum; the title of which is as follows: — The description of a Plain Instrument, that with much Care and Exactnesse will discover the situation of any Vertical Plane, howsoever inclining, reclining, or declining; and how to draw a Dyal upon the face of any vertical body, how irregular soever, together with several other things requisite to the art of Dyalling, By A. M. London, Printed for J. Coniers, at the Raven in Duck Lane, 1668, 12mo, 14 pages.

[2] By the kindness of a friend, who has communicated with the Professors of Glasgow on the subject, I am supplied with the following explanation of the customs alluded to in this passage: — Every year there is what is called the Black-Stone Examination. The students who were last year in a lower class, are examined before passing into a higher. Each, as he is called to be examined, takes his place in an ancient chair with a high back, on the top of which is placed a sand

Among all of that class there were three that were accounted eminently the most able: George Glen, a Scotch youth, my cousin Timothy Hill, and my son. These three were closely linked together in friendship, and kept up constant disputations, every one in his turne being moderator, opponent, and respondent, whereby they (i) much improved themselves and one another. For the carrying on of which worke, and acquainting himselfe with Professor Burnet (since Doctor)[1] his way in teaching divinity, and to give Edinburgh Colledge also a visit in his returne home, to see into the method there, he desired me to give him leave to stay some time longer, which I did; but this occasioned him a sad journey home, because of the wet in winter season, and a dangerous one in regard (j) of waters. Against the time of his coming home I had provided him a set of young men, whom he was to instruct in Hebrew, and University learning. Among the rest, there was one that should have learned Hebrew, and was (forsooth) a Master of Arts of Cambridge, but never had learning to fit him for admission there,

glass. When the glass has run out, a college official, who stands behind, reminds the learned Professors of the lapse of time, by saying, "*Ad alium, Domine.*" This is a hint to conclude the examination. The seat of the chair is formed of the celebrated Black-Stone, of which the history is unknown, but it has been long one of the university curiosities. As to Laureation, the old practice was, that the graduates were placed on the Black-Stone at their final examination, and afterwards had the cap crowned with laurel leaves placed on their heads by the Vice-Chancellor. Now, the graduate takes the oath kneeling, and the cap placed on his head is no longer decorated with the leaves. The term Laureation, here applied to the degree of Master of Arts, is, in other Universities, if used at all, generally confined to that of Bachelor; of which word, indeed, it is often supposed to form a part. However, there are very differing opinions entertained on this subject; some supposing it to imply that, in chivalrous language, they held the same relation to the Masters or Doctors, that the Bachelor did to the Knight. For a very learned dissertation on this subject, see Hofman's *Lexicon*, under the word BACHELARII.

[1] The well-known Dr. Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, was elected in 1669 to the Chair of Divinity Professor in the University of Glasgow, which office he accepted at the instance of his friend, the admirable Bishop Leighton. He was most indefatigable in the discharge of the laborious duties of his office, as appears by the memoir of him, prefixed to the History of his Own Time.

had not his father's purse done more for him then his owne accomplishments. This young man being very debauched, ignorant, and (k) envious, had like to have spoiled all the rest by his bad example and counsell; but, after we were rid of him, they prospered very well. For that little time that he taught with us he had, for the most part, good doings; sometimes more, sometimes lesse; some for a longer time, some for a shorter. I can yet reckon a matter of ten, all ministers' and able[1] men's sonnes, and most, good scholars; and he might have had abundance more, if he could have beene perswaded to receive them; but were they the sonnes of nobles, or the best friends he had, and whatever rates they offered, if they were not able youths in schoole-learning, and such as would be diligent and obedient, he would and did peremptorily refuse them: and thus he continued severall yeares, in which time those which brought him the greatest credit were these four —

1. Mr. Matthew Browne, who went from him to Glasgow, no other tutor interposing, and was upon a full examination (as his father assured me) approved and Laureated.

2. Mr. Ephraim Elcock, after master of the free-schoole in Tarvin, and curate to Dr. Arderne[2] at Thornton, for whom I have oft had great thankes from a learned relation of his.

3. Mr. John Furnifall, who in seven dayes' time learned all the maine rules of the Hebrew grammar, and was able to construe and analyse a psalme, though he knew not a letter before that time.

[1] Able — wealthy.

[2] Mr. Ormerod, in his corrections of his learned *History of Cheshire*, has directed to add the name of Dr. Arderne, as Rector of Thornton, after that of Mr. Fisher, who appears there without date. It appears probable from this, that he was Rector about the year 1675, or thereabouts. Dr. Arderne was member of a very distinguished and widely-ramified family, of which a full account may be found in Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. ii. p. 37, *et seq.* James Arderne, who was the fifth son of Ralph Arderne, of Harden and Alvanley, Esq., was born in 1636, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was chaplain to Charles II., made Rector of Davenham in 1681, and Dean of Chester in 1682. He published one or two small works, and left the foundation of a library in the Cathedral of Chester by a curious will, which is given in Ormerod.

4. Mr. Humphrey Livesey, who, (as his father assured me,) going to Cambridge, was characterized by his tutor's letter, at his coming thither, to be full as ripe as any of his owne of the same standing.

Section vi.

In the interim, there was so great connivance at publick and private preaching in Bolton-parish, and severall other parishes adjacent, that, except it was now and then to gratify some great person (l) or speciall friend, (and that soe as would consist with my ministeriall worke,) I did not practise teaching mathematickes at all. Yea, even such high Episcopall men as Dr. Howorth[1] and Mr. Moseley,[2] justices of the peace, were engaged to me, and paid me nobly to teach in their houses, though they knew I preached publickly in two neighbour chappells, Gorton and Birch, and possibly might heare that I did the like in my turne at Cockey, Walmesley, Darwin, &c.; and, for all this, I never fell into any considerable trouble, but onely once, — and that ended well. It is true my great friend the Bishop sent out his *Significavit* against me, with severall others; and Mr. James Wood, of Chow-bent,[3] was catched and sent to prison; but to his great advantage, through the kindnesses done

[1] There were two men of considerable eminence in Manchester of the name of Howarth during, and subsequent to, the Civil Wars, both descended from the same house, though of very opposite principles, and both in the commission of the peace. Richard Howarth, of the Thurcroft family, born 1598, was a Bencher of Gray's Inn, and an active Presbyterian. He died in 1663, leaving large estates to an only daughter. Theophilus Howarth, of Howarth Hall, in the parish of Rochdale, was a man of lofty pretensions to noble descent, (see Whitaker's *Whalley*, and James's *Iter Lancastrense*,) and was honoured with the confidence of all the distinguished Royalists of the county. He was skilled in heraldry, &c., and was the correspondent of Dugdale, Ashmole, and other literary men of the time. He married Mary, daughter of Henry Ashurst, of Ashurst, Esq., and had a son, (afterwards Captain Henry Howarth,) to whom Martindale was tutor.

[2] Nicholas Mosley, of Ancoats, Esq., born 10th Sept. 1612, married Ann, daughter of John Lever, of Alkrington, Esq., and was justice of peace for the county at this time.

[3] Calamy says, that Mr. James Woods, of Chowbent Chapel, was the son and father of a dissenting minister; and that the Woods preached there for above a century.

him by many. But that against me, through the civility of Dr.
(m) Howorth, was a little delayed, and shortly after it died with its authour, the Bishop. This, therefore, I reckon not as any trouble.

But that I hinted at before, was this; when the former act against Conventicles was out, and no new one made, Adam Fearneside,[1] a good friend of mine, desired me to joyn with a worthy neighbour of his, Mr. James Bradshaw,[2] late of Macclesfield, to keep a day of preaching and prayer at his sonne-in-lawe's house, in a dark corner of Bury-parish. His daughter (the wife of the house) being neither able to go on foote nor on horsebacke to any place for her soule's good, I consented, and began the exercise; but Deane Bridgeman, being then at his sonne Greenhalgh's house, of Brandeshaw,[3] and hearing of it, people were sent to take us up, and returne our names, &c. But the doore being shut, and they having no warrant to breake it, I went on, seemingly unconcerned, till I had done my worke, and then calmely concluded, all my brothers being unwilling to goe on. All this while the doores were guarded that we might not escape, (forsooth,) and after a time opened by the master of the house. All the rest, having their names taken, were suffered to goe at libertie, but I was carried before the Reverend Deane, who, knowing me well, said he wondered that I would expose myself to the lash of the law for conventicling, and that under his nose. I told him he was mistaken; it was no conventicle, either by statute, common, or canon law. As for the first, there was no statute in force that defined it; and for the second, a conventicle, by common law, his owne brother the Lord

[1] Adam Fearnside was maternal ancestor of the Hardmans, of Allerton Hall, Rochdale, a Presbyterian family of some note in the last century.

[2] Mr. James Bradshaw was a native of Darcy Lever, of a considerable family. He was at one time minister at Wigan, and then at Macclesfield, where he was silenced. He was at one period allowed to preach at Houghton Chapel, in Dean parish, and afterwards at Bradshaw Chapel, by the connivance of Mr. Bradshaw, of Bradshaw Hall. He died in 1683, being reputed a man of considerable ability.

[3] Thomas, son and heir of Richard Greenalgh, of Brandlesome Hall, in the parish of Bury, Esq., married a daughter of John Bridgman, D.D., Dean of Chester, and afterwards Bishop of Man, of which island his grandfather, John Greenalgh, Esq., had been governor under the great Earl of Derby.

Chiefe Justice had defined it, upon the bench, to be a meeting together to plott against the King and state, which he could not imagine of a company of men, women, and children, whereof many had never seene others face before. And as for the canons, I told him there were onely two cases that were made conventicles by them, and this was neither, as I clearely proved. He said, then it was a riot, for we were more than ten. I answered, what if we were ten score, when none of us wore a weapon, gave an uncivill word, or did any unlawfull act? After some other discourse in a loving and familiar way, he dismissed me, pretending kindnesse to me for my Lord Delamer's sake, desiring only of me two things; 1st, that I would not goe publickly through Bury, but take a more private way toward Bolton; 2ndly, that I would forbeare preaching neare that place for a fortnight's time, at the end whereof he was to goe to Chester. I promised him I would not, and kept my engagement exactly; but when (n)
I was gone home, he caused my companions and me to be indicted at the Sessions then holden at Manchester, and my name was put (o)
in the front of all. In due time we appeared to the indictment, and overthrew it; there being but two witnesses produced against us, whereof one was set in a place so farre from the house, that he knew not what was said nor done, as he upon oath affirmed. The other, (being a Bury man that died soone after,) swore so desperately what he could not know, that our counsell, Mr. Pennington, made his testimonie ridiculous to all the court; for he swore, *that he, being* (p)
without, heard me preaching in the house; and yet he confessed he had never seene me nor heard my voice before, nor had I spoken a word in court till he had taken this oath. So that he had no pretence to say, that he knew my voice, now that he heard it againe. The jury forthwith returned us not guilty; and the costs, being 24 shillings, were paid by the friend that invited me.[1]

[1] Once more does Adam's legal ingenuity liberate him from the fangs of the law. Indeed, it seems all to have been required, in these persecuting days.

Section vii.

About this very time, Bishop Wilkins,[1] observing what a great company of drunken Ministers there was in his diocese, and especially near Wigan,[2] his then residence, was resolved to turne such out, or, at the least, to suspend them *ab officio*, and to fill the places with better men; and having a good opinion of some of us, that he took to be moderate Nonconformists, he proposed terms to us, to which we returned a thankful answer; showing our willingness to comply in any thing that would not cross our principles, and instancing, in particulars, what we could do. But the Archbishop of York, by his (q) Visitation, took all power out of his hands for a year, soon after which (if not before) this honest Bishop Wilkins died.

Section viii.

Near the beginning of June, 1671, I was sent for by the Lady Ashton[3] of Middleton, to instruct her son, Mr. Richard, and Mr. Bold, of Bold, which I did till near Michaelmas; where, besides the spiritual libertie that I had in the neighbourhood, worthy to be

[1] John Wilkins, D.D., Bishop of Chester, was born at Fawsley in the year 1614. He was educated at Oxford. He joined the Parliament in the Civil War, was made Warden of Wadham by the Committee for reforming the University, took the Engagement, and, having married the sister of Oliver Cromwell, was allowed to hold the Wardenship by dispensation. Richard Cromwell made him Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; and though he was ejected at the Restoration, he was subsequently made Dean of Ripon, and, in 1668, Bishop of Chester. He died in Dr. Tillotson's house in London, Nov. 19, 1672. He was very popular with his former friends. Newcome, in his Diary, Nov. 22, 1672, says:—"I received the sad newes of the death of the learned, worthy, pious, and peaceable Bishop of Chester, Dr. John Wilkins. He was my worthy friend." He was a celebrated divine and critic, and much advanced the knowledge of mathematics and astronomy.

[2] Bishop Wilkins held the Living of Wigan by the gift of Sir Orlando Bridgman, Bart., then Lord Keeper of England.

[3] This was Ann, daughter of Sir Ralph Asheton, of Whalley, Bart., and at this time widow of Sir Ralph Asheton, the first Baronet of Middleton, who died 23rd April, 1665, leaving two sons, Richard being the younger; but ultimately he inherited the family estate. Mr. Peter Bold was her nephew. Lady Asheton died the 27th October, 1684.

valued infinitely above the rest, I never had a more profitable time of employment in all my life. For though I never asked my Lady a farthing above my usual rate, viz., 15 shillings a week beside my diet and horsemeat, to the best of my remembrance I had such other employment as ordinarily cleared me at least 15 shillings more. And, for aught I know, it might have continued much longer, had I not been served to appear before the Judge at Chester as a witness, in the latter end of September, and been sent for to officiate as Chaplain at Dunham, the last day of that month. So that I did not romance when I have told some of my Lord's officers, that I was in an higher way of getting money, though more uncertain, before I came to Dunham, than my noble salary there came unto.

Section ix.

When I was first invited to officiate as chaplaine at Dunham, it was onely for three weekes or a month; but this proved to be almost 14 yeares, and probably had beene more, if my Lord's death had not put an end to my attendance there. All this while I had the same libertie among my old people of Rotherston parish (r) (taking fit seasons for it) as before. My salary was 40 pounds per annum while the noble family was at Dunham, which, for the first time of mine attendance, was a full yeare and more; in which time I had also opportunity of getting 4 or 5 pounds more by teaching mathematickes in the family.

Mine employment there (besides accompanying my Lord oft abroad) was family duty twice a day; which, before dinner, was a short prayer, a chapter, and a more solemn prayer; and, before supper, the like, only a psalme, or part of one, after the chapter. When it was my Lord's pleasure that the Lord's-day, or any of the Kinge's dayes, should be kept at home, I officiated; and when on the Lord's-day we went to Bowdon, I catechized in the evening, and expounded the catechisme in a doctrinall and practicall way. So as it was as much paines for me, and as profitable to the auditory, as if I had (s) preached a formall sermon.

Section x.

This yeare, viz., March 15, 1671–2, came out the King's Declaration for indulgence to all sorts of Dissenters, allowing to all, save Papists onely, their publick licensed places, and to them their libertie in private.[1] I confesse I was not fully satisfied whether the King could, by his prerogative, suspend the execution of all Ecclesiasticall Laws: this was above my skill. And I did so little like an universall toleration, that I have oft said, and once writ, in answer to a booke, which Mr. Baxter, after, more largely answered in print, that if the King had offered me my libertie, upon condition that I would consent that Papists, Quakers, and all other wicked sects should have theirs also, I think I should never have agreed to it.[2] But, seeing the (t) King's License did but help to cleare my way to doe that which I would have done without it, if I could have beene suffered; being (as I believed) illegally rent from my people by the patron and bishop;

[1] "Early in the year [1672] a great and sudden change took place in the policy of the country. It was determined by the king's advisers, that he should dispense with the penal laws against the Non-conformists, and that the ministers should be allowed, on certain easy conditions, to conduct religious services in such manner and places as to them should seem meet. This was to be done by virtue of the king's prerogative, as supreme in ecclesiastical affairs, it being well known that Parliament would not give its sanction to the measure, so great was the dread of an intention on the part of the king to introduce Popery, and so strong the persuasion of the importance of maintaining the Protestant Church of England in its full strength, as the great defence against such a design.

"The change was, therefore, announced by a Declaration issued on the king's sole authority. The Declaration was to the effect, that 'there was very little fruit of all those forcible courses and many frequent ways of coercion that had been used for reducing all erring and dissenting persons; wherefore, by virtue of his supreme power in matters ecclesiastical, he suspends all penal laws about them, and offers to allow a convenient number of public meeting-places to men of all sorts that did not conform, provided they took out licenses, set open the doors to all comers, and preached not seditiously, nor against the discipline nor government of the Church of England.' This Declaration was published on the 15th of March."—Hunter's *Life of Heywood*, p. 222.

[2] In these, not very liberal, sentiments the leading men of Martindale's party participated: yet, for the reasons assigned by Martindale, they in general acceded to the terms of the Declaration.

and that the Papists and all others must have their libertie, whether I would or noe; I resolved to take mine, that I might helpe to counterworke them. So I had a license for the house of Humphrey (u) Peacock, of Morice, where I preached twice every Lord's-day, and a lecture once a month; and (soe oft as I could conveniently doe it) I ended both my sermons so soone, that my selfe and others might heare my successor's afternoon sermon.

Section xi.

One morning, as I was going to preach at my licensed place, I called on my successor, which had carried moderately towards us, and found him dangerously ill. He prayed God to speed me in my labours, and desired that I would pray for him in my congregation; which I promised to do, and accordingly performed, the people affectionately joyning with me. Afterwards two businesses came into my mind — the one mine, the other his. Mine was to see if I could persuade him to doe me justice, ere he went out of the world, in reference to that 12 pounds and upwards, which I tooke to be truly due to me; his was, to see if I could bring him to a serious sight of, (v) and repentance for, diverse things that were apparently amisse, both as to his worke and conversation. This latter I resolved on, whatever became of mine owne concerne, (which totally miscarried in the hands of one that would needs excuse a firme friend from medling in it,) and I writ him, in a most loving and affectionate way as I could devise, touching things in generall onely, and still taking my selfe in: — as thus, for example: — [*Alas! how shall we answer our great neglects and slight performances of our duties, and our unwatchfulnesse against temptations.*] This, 'tis said, did much trouble him; and I (w) am glad it did soe, if he sorrowed to repentance. I no more know how to doe a sinner good without making him sorrie, then to cleare a fowle stomach by a vomit, without making the patient sicke. And some that were spitefull said it killed him; but his apothecary, Mr. Delves, told me, gills of brandy (which he got elsewhere, when he refused to sell him any) had beene his death, by making his liver

as hard as horne. When the letter came to be viewed by his conforming brethren, at his funerall, I was told, they approved it *as very civill, and such as was fit for one minister to send to another.* But if it had beene otherwise characterized, it would not have much troubled
(x) me, being satisfied of the duty incumbent upon me thus to doe; onely there was reason to be troubled that I had not done it sooner, which probably might have beene, had I either thought his end so neare, or met with so much encouragement before.

NOTES

ON THIS SEVENTH CHAPTER.

([a]) When men are entrusted with weightie affairs, it behooves them to be watchfull and diligent, to prevent such as ly at catch.

([b]) Envie may have its wish; but misse its end, that is comfort in it.

([c]) Who more bold than blind Bayard, and more confident than the ignorant?

([d]) Men of parts are usually most modest.

([e]) It is pittie young men should be ensnared in things they understand not, and that their owne parents should be instrumentall in it.

([f]) People oft doe a great deale of harme by meddling in things they are not concerned in.

([g]) It is a noble part to helpe such as are hopefull liberally in season.

([h]) Things cheape and usefull are fit to be made publicke.

([i]) Disputations well managed are very profitable.

([j]) Conveniences are rarely without inconveniences.

([k]) As one scabbed sheep may infect a flocke, so one wicked companion may spoil many.

([l]) Other interests ought to veile to that of soules.

([m]) Civill men are loath to be instruments of crueltie.

([n]) We may forbeare to doe a particular good, when it is more convenient to wave that, and do another. Affirmatives bind not *ad semper.*

([o]) Unworthy persons use to doe mischiefe basely.

([p]) Malice without wit shames the malitious.

([q]) Good indeavours meet oft with great lets.

([r]) Spirituall advantages are most precious.

(s) Catechisticall grounds, well opened and improved, are as profitable as any other doctrine.

(t) We should not, for our owne personall libertie, promote a publicke mischiefe.

(u) If heretickes be active in overthrowing truth, we should be as vigorous in defending it.

(v) We ought rather to run the hazard of some losse, then to suffer others to lose heaven.

(w) It is grievous to molest our friends; but if we have no other way to save them from their sin, we must take it.

(x) It is desirable that workes of pietie and high charity to men's soules should be done soone enough; but if they have not been done in time, it is better late than never.

CHAPTER VIII.

I. My worke and condition at Dunham. II. A great deliverance from drowning at Dove-bridge, beyond Uttoxiter, in Staffordshire. III. My daughter Elizabeth's death, with a touch upon her evidence in a matter of life and death, when she was but three yeares and halfe old. IV. Some other notes concerning her. V. My families removall to the Thorne in Millington, and my sonne's going to London, and what befell him there, with his coming home, &c. VI. His preaching at Chester, with the successe, and reason of it. VII. My daughter Hannah's great afflictions, with the meanes used for her helpe. VIII. The comfort God was pleased to give me in my sonne towards his latter end. IX. The bestowing of the cheife master's place at Northwych-school upon him by choice of the feoffees.

Section i.

The reader must not now expect much of action for this seven yeares space, from the 49th to the 57th yeare of mine age; for this and much more was, for the most, spent after this manner: —I attended at Dunham usually from May, when my Lord came downe, till October or November, that he went up again to London; then I went to visit my noble and religious friends, and neare relations in Cheshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, &c., and sometimes at London, till Christmasse was over; and then, usually, I had as many
(a) borders as I could deale with, to instruct in mathematickes, with the continuance of my private libertie among mine owne people; but the publick by license was quite gone,[1] and it was not thought convenient that my Lord or Lady should give way to my preaching publickly without it. At this I was somewhat troubled in conscience, and could not satisfie myselfe without the advice of some
(b) very good and wise men, and speciall friends to the family, whether I should retaine my relation to Dunham as Chaplaine, seeing mine employment there on a Lord's-day was so little, and that to so few,

[1] The licenses to preach, granted by the King's Declaration, were withdrawn in the month of February, 1675.

those that had most need wholly absenting (besides divers other discouragements, not fit to be named); and for this to forego all other publick employment. But they were all unanimous in it, that it was my way to stay; for if I deserted the place, 'twas very questionable what sort of man might succeed me; and if he proved such as either would not, or could not, (for want of that interest I had in my Lord,) give such encouragement to godlinesse, or checke to wickednesse, as I made bold to doe, the consequence might be bad, not onely in reference to that considerable family, but to many well-willers to it, and good people in generall. Upon this I resolved to stay till Providence should remove me; though, in respect (c) of outward advantages, my place was much decayed from what it was the first year. For though my salary was still after 40 pounds per annum for so much of the yeare as the family was at Dunham, that being usually but about halfe the yeare, (sometimes a little more, sometimes a great deale lesse,) that which was called 40 pounds (and was so effectually to my predecessor, for all or most of his time) would be dwindled, by the absence of the family, to 21, 20, or 15 pounds, or thereabouts, and once it little exceeded 12: out of which, notwith- (d) standing, there were diverse defalcations, as fees to many officers in the family, which, without paltry nigardise, or repute of it, could not be avoided. The charge of having one in constant pay (though not very great) to wait on me in my chamber, and bring me necessaries; for though the groome of the chambers ought by his office to doe it, his ordinary employment, morning and evening, to make cleane the dining-roome, and his extraordinary businesse with guests, would not give him time for it. And for the remainder of it, a great part was necessarily squandered away in apparrell; for gentlemen's chaplaines about us, as the Bishop's, Sir Willoughby Aston's, Sir Peter Leicester's, Sir Thomas Mainwaring's, Mr. Cholmeley's, were single men and Conformists, that had every one of them a benefice, a chappell, or a fellowship. This enabled them to goe very fine; and I, being, in regard of my Lord's honour and mine owne age, and as a beneficed (e) man in dayes of yore, to take place of all these, or all but one, must needs be somewhat answerable to them — yea, and it was expected

that my wife and children too should, in the habit, beare some proportion. Adde to this, that whereas some that got twice so much in private, so as not to be much taken notice of, as I got at Dunham, had great gifts and tokens sent them, — as I had when I was first outed of my vicarage; but now it was thought my place was so beneficiall that I was still passed by, my friends at London and elsewhere
(f) thinking I had no need; and I could not well undeceive them, for feare of reflexions upon that noble family. Whereas neither my Lord nor Lady were in fault, but the necessity of their affaires was it that pinched me; for having parted with so great a share of their estate to their eldest sonne,[1] and being still to bring up five sonnes more in a costly way of education, and otherwise to provide for them, and three daughters, which must have great portions, and my Lord's attending the Parliament, or pursuing other businesse every winter
(g) at London, was so exceedingly costly, what could be saved fairely must not be expended. It would have been some hundreds of pounds advantage if they had staid at home all the yeare; and upon that condition I doubt not my Lady would have beene well content, and might have afforded to pay me double. And as things were, the salary was as much as was ever promised me, and truely paid; yea, and noble for the time that I attended, and such as (I question not) many a worthier person would have beene glad of. But I have
(h) beene thus large, to satisfie such of my children as may perhaps be told by silly neighbours, what great matters might have beene done by the advantage of such a place; whereas it hath often beene, that, when I had paid my Martinmasse rent for that little ground I held to supply my family with milke and meale, (as the saying

[1] This was Henry, who was actively engaged with the Whigs in Monmouth's movement, and tried for treason, but acquitted, in 1685. "At the Revolution he was commissioned by the Prince of Orange to order King James to remove from Whitehall, which he did with so much delicacy, that the fallen monarch afterwards observed, 'That the Lord Delamer, whom he had used ill, treated him with more regard than those to whom he had been kind, and from whom he might better have expected it.' He was created Earl of Warrington, 1690. He was author of a vindication of his friend, Lord Russel, and some devotional pieces. He died in 1694." — *Peerage.*

is,) I had not fourty shillings, save what I must get, to bring me through winter.[1]

Section ii.

But the Providences of God, both in respect of mercies and afflictions to me, were not inconsiderable; for in the year 1673, while mine eldest daughter lay at home in great affliction, as shall anon be shewed, I was sent by the noble persons with whom I dwelt, to visit their honourable father, the Earle of Stamford,[2] at Broad-gate, who then lay on his death-bed; and to speake to Dr. Cotton, of Burton-upon-Trent, about some little cures to be wrought upon Mr. Charles and Mr. George, two of my Lord's sonnes, to whom I after brought them. But being requested afterward by my Lady, in her letter from London, to visit them at Burton, I was in great hazard of my life; for the waters being very high at Dove-bridge, beyond Uttoxiter, I enquired in that towne for a guide to bring me through Needwood-parke, so as I needed not to passe the river Dove, whereas the other way (through a corner of Derbyshire) I must passe it twice. But a young fellow in the house told me that he must goe beyond Dove-bridge, and would safely guide me through the water, being well horsed — and he did so; but put me into an (i)
astonishment (before we parted) at his desperate undertaking, by telling me he had never gone that way before. But this was nothing to my surprizall when I returned; for then, the water being voided out of the lane, I saw it was full of quagmires on both hands, onely there was a narrow path for an horse, through the middle, of sound ground; and if God had not graciously guided us through that strait (j)
way, invisible and unknown to us both, our horses (in all probability) would have beene overthrowne in that deepe water, and it had beene much if we had scaped with our lives.

[1] This narrative is a very honest and vivid picture of what may well be conceived the state of the domestic chaplain of a nobleman, whose present conformity made him at least less zealous than before in supporting the doctrine and the ministers which he had formerly upheld so zealously.

[2] Lady Delamer was the daughter of Henry, first Earl of Stamford.

Section iii.

But this signall service was speedily followed with the death of my eldest daughter, Elizabeth, who departed this life, March 12,
(k) 1673, and was buried at Rotherston the 14th after, neare the chancell wall. She was so well beloved among the young women of the parish, that though she died almost a mile from the church, and the way very foule, they would not suffer any man to carrie her bodie a foote, but conveyed her on their owne shoulders to her grave.[1] She was so wittie a girle when she was about three yeares and an halfe old, that her testimonie was received in a matter of life and death, and thus it was briefely: * * * *,[2] an old man, had carnally knowne * * * *, the daughter of * * * *, my doore neighbour, severall times, she being under six yeares of age. The child having accused him to her mother, who told my wife, I was desired to examine the child; which I did; and among other questions, asked her whether any body were present, and she answered that my daughter was present once: and so soone as my daughter awaked, (for she was then asleepe, being late at night,) I examined her whether she knew such a man; what manner of man he was; what she saw him doe at * * * *; and where it was? And she answered to all punctually, confirming to a tittle what the other
(l) had said. Then a warrant was fetched by the child's father from Mr. Brereton, of Ashley, and the man accused, with severall witnesses examined before sundry justices at Bowdon. A jury of women were sworne to inspect the child wronged. A midwife, being one of them, was much his friend, and talked hard for him; but when it came to swearing, she joyned with the rest, and tooke

[1] There is something very affecting in this mode of the sex paying a last tribute of respect to the remains of a departed sister. It still so far remains, in some remote parts of this country, that they always bear the body into the church. We could dispense with many observances which have less piety and significance than this.

[2] The names, which were inserted in the original manuscript at full length, have been afterwards erased. That of the man appears to have been Peter Charlton.

her oath, as all of them did, that (to the utmost of her judgement) the child was carnally knowne by some man. Mrs. Pierson swore, that when her daughter Elizabeth was about the same age, he, being a fisherman, enticed her into his boat, under pretence of bringing her to a fine garden in the Mere; and when he had her in the boat, would have his pleasure of her, or threatened to drowne her; but was prevented by the child's skreeking out. Many others could have testified the like things touching his former practices; but it (m) was not thought needfull to examine them. The things before mentioned were sworne, also, before the judges, by the same persons, saving that not all the jury of women, but some four or five, were bound over as witnesses. But the great wonder was this: though it was many months betweene the commitment and arraignement of this man, and my child was so young as aforesaid, and though they were oft examined before magistrates, ministers, jurors, and judges, they told the same tale punctually, without ever contradicting themselves (n) or one another, and answered crosse questions wonderfully. The man was found guilty and condemned; yea, in prison, acknowledged his guilt to two of his neighbours, Richard Urmeston, of Tatton, one of the jurors that found him guilty, and Edward Mosse, of Marsh, in Rotherston, his old and familiar friend, (as both of them told me;) yet this wretched man, when he came to dy, (though he did not directly say he was guiltlesse,) insinuated to the people as if he were; telling them he was so old, and so crushed by a fall off an (o) horse when Prince Rupert came through Cheshire, and they might well judge whether he was likely to doe that deed.

Section iv.

My daughter was after bred at home, to her booke and pen, and in Warrington and Manchester, to her needle and musick, though the latter she loved not, and after forgot it. In the yeare 1665, she served Mrs. Margerie Fleetwood, of Penwortham, since married to Colonell Rothstern, lately High-Sheriffe of Lancashire,[1] in whose

[1] This marriage does not appear in Baines's account of the Parish of Penwortham, or in the pedigree of the house of Fleetwood. The Priory and Manor

service she had her life once much endangered; for being before Mr. Fleetwood's coach, upon a poore little nag, but not so swift, it seemes, as the coach horses, which were driven furiously by the coachman, (perhaps drunke,) in a narrow lane, downe she came, and was in mighty danger of being crushed in pieces by the horses and coach-wheeles running over her, ere they could be staid. Afterwards she served young Mrs. Venables, of Agden,[1] who had too
(p) great an affection for her; for out of a loathnesse to part with her, she concealed from us her falling in love with a fellow-servant that was an unsutable match for her, hoping that he onely courted her as he did formerly others in the same place that kept the stores, for his owne ends. I tooke her away, first home, then to Manchester, to her grandmother; after to another friend's house in Bolton-
(q) parish; provided her a farre more lovely match, for person, parts, goodnesse, and estate, and one that dearely loved her, but could not prevaile.

Afterwards I removed her (still by her owne consent) into Staffordshire, to Mrs. Sylvester, of Weeford, neare Litchfield, a gentlewoman that had a deare love to her and me, where she continued a considerable time; but upon New-yeare's day, 1672, the servants that were under her for the yeare past had beene gone away, and the new ones for the following yeare not yet come, she (with the helpe of a sorrie girl, that could doe nothing without directions,) undertooke the dressing of a great dinner, and stepping out into the snow in slender shoes, before she was well cooled, she got such a rooted cold as could not be removed, though her master and mistress tooke great care of her, as if she had not beene a servant, but a child, making use of a doctor in Litchfield betimes, but it would not doe.

of Penwortham, however, belonged to the Fleetwoods from the reign of Edward III. till it passed, by sale, through one or two hands, "about the year 1783, to Lawrence Rawsthorne, a descendant of *Captain Edward Rosthorne, Governor of Latham for the Earl of Derby in* 1644." In 1681 & 2, Lawrence Rawsthorne, Esq., of Newhall, (called by Gregson, p. 299, *White-hall*,) was Sheriff of Lancashire.

[1] The family of Venables, of Agden, in the parish of Rostherne, (a branch from Kinderton,) became extinct in the male line in the early part of the last century, and is represented by Sir John Chetwode, Bart. Richard Venables married Mary, the daughter of Robert Venables, of Antrobus, Esq.

I having notice that she was ill, and desirous to come home, fetched her myselfe, and tooke great care of her. Dr. Banne,[1] my dear friend, was not wanting to the utmost of his indeavours; and I had also directions from Dr. Watson, of Sutton-Coldfield, whom I found with my Lord of Stamford, and both directions and physick from Mr. Wilter, of Chester. But still her cough rather encreased, and her flesh consumed with much paines, (which is not ordinary,) she being, at the taking of her cold, a strong healthfull young woman, somewhat fat, and just 25 years old that very day.

That which seemed to doe her most good was Elixir Salutis, for it gave her much ease, (my Lord Delamer having bestowed upon her severall bottles that came immediately from Mr. Daffie himselfe,)[2] and it also made her cheerfull; but going forth and getting new cold, she went fast away. I am really perswaded that if she had taken it a little sooner in due quantities, and beene carefull of her- (r)
selfe, it might have saved her life. But it was not God's will.

In the time of her sicknesse we gave her as good spirituall counsell as we could. And her deare unkle, Thomas Jollie,[3] bestowed paines with her, both in prayer and instructions, to very good purpose. She seemed to be much affected with what he said, and with the consideration of her eternall state; gave her brother excellent counsell to make hast with repentance, and not to leave it (s)
to his death-bed; and gave diverse friends very good satisfaction that she was well prepared for Heaven, whither I hope she is gone.

[1] Dr. Banne was a distinguished physician in Manchester. He is often mentioned by Newcome in his Diary, and always in terms of great respect. It appears from Newcome's Diary, that on Easter Monday, 1681, Dr. Banne was chosen a Feoffee of Chetham's Hospital.

[2] After this striking testimony, both to the antiquity and efficacy of this celebrated cordial, all good antiquarians will be in conscience bound to give it all the patronage which it deserves.

[3] Thomas Jollie married the widow Elizabeth Hall, mother of Mrs. Martindale.

[4] This is another melancholy tale afforded by Martindale's children, which might supply for the drama or the novel materials for a character more abundant than those out of which Sir Walter Scott drew his immortal portrait of *Jeanie Deans*. It is deeply to be lamented that poor Elizabeth Martindale does not afford a solitary instance of a clergyman's daughter suffering from, while she adorns, a station in life far beneath her natural position in society.

Section v.

In the beginning of May next after, viz., 1674, I removed my family (for convenience of living nearer Dunham, and having better way, and some other reasons) to an house in Millington, called the Thorne, where they abode seven years. Thither my sonne removed himselfe and his schoole, and continued (as I remember) something above a yeare. Afterwards he went to be tutour to the granchildren of Robert Venables, of Wincham, Esq.,[1] commonly called Colonel Venables; (though that's a wrong to him, for he hath bin a generall since he was colonell;) and from thence I tooke him up to London, together with his cousin Timothy Hill, that had for some yeares been his bed-fellow and forme-fellow, admitted with him at Cambridge, instructed by the same minister in Cheshire, and laureated the same day with him at Glasgow. But from that time to this I am now speaking of, their studies as well as their geniuses differed much; my cousin giving himselfe to plaine country preaching, being Sir Richard Hoghton's chaplaine, and my sonne to metaphysicks and schoole divinity. These two were invited and designed to goe together to the Indies, as chaplaines to Captaine Johnson and Captaine Bendall, both of Wapping; but making triall of their gifts at Mr. Rither's meeting-place of Wapping, my sonne's preaching was thought to be too high for the seamen—even
(t) the captaines themselves—and his parts much fitter for London, where I left him with Mr. Baxter, his cousin going with Captaine Bendall. This was in October, 1675, at which time my second Countrey Almanacke came out for that yeare ensuing, which I continued also for the year 1677; and why I then ceased to go on with it, Mr. Collins hath told the world in his preface to my Survey Booke.[2]

[1] This gentleman was distinguished as a captain in the Civil Wars. He was afterwards governor of Chester, and served actively in the Irish Wars, and also, with Admiral Pen, as general of the forces against Hispaniola and Jamaica. He was highly honoured at the Restoration. He wrote a treatise on angling.

[2] We have not been able to find any traces of these Almanacks. Mr. Collins,

About a quarter of a yeare after this, the chief usher's (or second master's) place in Merchant Taylours' Schoole was vacant, and my sonne had good store of considerable friends to helpe him to it. But they being Non-conformists, and Dr. Good, the head master, of a farre differing opinion, it was feared he would obstruct it. Whereupon my sonne made his application to him to be examined; and when the doctor had discoursed him about an houre, though he knew by what sort of persons he was promoted, he would never heare of any other, but entertained him kindly into the schoole, employed him frequently to teach his owne scholars in his absence, paid him nobly, and applauded him highly. But this (alas!) undid the young man, by lifting him up above himselfe and the advice of his (u) best friends. He was never given to intemperance, as the doctor assured me by letter; but he made up a club, with a number of men that were indeed ingenious, but men of such great estates, and that treated one another in their turnes at such a rate, as his comings in would not beare.

Besides, he being a meere scholar, that was alwayes used to have his cloaths bought and kept in repair for him, and knew not how to buy a paire of gloves, when he came to weare rich cloaths, such as pure Spanish cloath gownes, silk cassockes and stockings, cloath shoes, and such like, being subject to be cheated by every one he delt with, and running fast through such costly apparrell for want of good looking to; the charge of maintaining himselfe in habit fit for such (v) company was very considerable. He also became surety with others for a scholar, and paid for his part (as I heard) 15 or 20 pounds. Finding these things too weighty for him, he makes a full account he could easily help himselfe by a parsonage or a wife; and so he might

who was a distinguished Fellow of the Royal Society, and wrote many valuable works on practical mathematics, says, in his "Letter to the Reader," prefixed to Martindale's Countrey-Survey-Book — "The Learned Mr. *Adam Martindale* formerly writ two excellent Almanacks, called Country Almanacks, which were printed, and esteemed by several members of the Royal Society very useful, but meeting with some Discouragements from such as knew not how to judge of the Author's worth, he gave over that undertaking contrary to the desires of many Ingenious Men."

(w) have done, had he taken wise courses, and God's blessing along with him. One young woman in London, that had 500 pounds to her portion, he lost meerely through a sleighting humour. Another at Brainford, that had more then I thinke fit to speake of, was (as an honest gentleman told me) very fond of him; but because she was a little crooked (forsooth) he would not have her. He made an interest in a gentleman that had the gift of a parsonage, worth about 200 per annum, (probably not without great charges,) who seemed willing to present him; but refused to doe it when he heard he was not yet in orders. To prevent which obstruction for another time, he takes out a facultie, and is ordained both deacon and priest on one day; and makes his addresse to Sir Robert Carre, by helpe of a favourite of Sir Robert's, (which cost twopence half-pennie;)[1] and that gentleman (as I was told) was willing to bestow a place on him worth sixscore pounds; but the perfidious favourite gets it for another. These projects first pricking his fingers and then breaking, at last a rooke tells him of a great fortune at the other end of the towne, a gentlewoman that waited on two young ladies, and makes him beleeve she had 600 pounds to her portion; and if he would seale him a bond of 10 pounds, he would helpe him to obtaine her. He did soe, and after paid the money; but never had soe much with her, that I heard of.[2] And now he had done his
(x) businesse throughly, having himselfe to provide for, and a wife, without a portion, to be maintained like a gentlewoman, and by this foolish marriage rendered himselfe incapable to keepe his schoole. I do not certainely know whether the governours of Merchant-Taylours' Schoole had power, by a special act of favour, to keepe him in still, for all he was married; but he had so disobliged his best friends by this his marriage, and the circumstances preceding and following it, that there was no hope of it; yet, however, they pittied him, and bestowed a gratuity on him, at parting, of 5 pounds.

About a quarter of a yeare after he was out, he tries severall

[1] A homely phrase for a very considerable sum.

[2] What a vivid picture of the degraded state of morals at that period! It is quite in accordance with the whole history of the time.

conclusions to get other employment; but when none would be had that he could subsist on, downe he came in a wagon, and his wife with him, in the month of October, 1677, in their summer-clothes — such as they had worn in London — which proving too thinne for the season and climate, was, no doubt, prejudiciall to their health, which they had not very well in London. He durst not come imme- (y)
diately to me, whom he had so offended by despising my counsell and other wise, but went to a neighbour's house, and desired him to interpose for him, which he did; and I admitted him and his wife to come to our house, dieted them as well as ourselves, clad them warme, and bestowed a deale of money on them in physick; got him a small place for the present to preach at one Lord's-day in (z)
a fortnight, till a better would be had; paying a deale of money for him that he ought,[1] and lending him more to pay others himselfe. After a little time he set up a schoole also at Warburton, and from thence was called to a more considerable schoole at Limme,[2] where he continued till Michaelmas, 1679, having in the interim, about August 15th, a sweet daughter-child borne unto him, which at her baptisme was called by her grandmother's name (Elizabeth), and is still alive.

Section vi.

About this time he was sent for to Chester, and preached there two Lord's-days in the great church and quire, in order to a choice to be Dr. Fog's curate.[3] I had testimonialls enough sent me from ministers and laymen, Conformists and Non-conformists, how well he was liked; but he missed the place, for the Maior, being for another, not onely refused to heare him, but so overawed many (aa)
poore men that had voices in the election, that they durst not appeare for him; and yet 'tis said he lost it onely by three votes.

[1] The Lancashire mode of pronouncing *owed*.

[2] This was not the grammar school, which was founded in 1698.

[3] Laurence Fogge, S.T.B., was Vicar of St. Oswald's, Chester, from 1672 to 1699. The Lectureship seems to have been in the election of the mayor and burgesses.

Section vii.

My sad sufferings in and by him were accompanied with a sore stroake upon another child, my poore daughter Hannah, who, just at the same time that her brother was undoing himselfe at London, fell into a distemper like a feaver, which tooke away the use of all her limbs, and that with such excessive paine that she was neither able to ly still, nor endure to be turned; but God, in mercie to her
(bb) and us, tooke away her paine, and restored her upper parts clearely, so that, for anything that belongs to head or hand, she is as active and diligent as any one needs to be; but for her lower parts — whereas she was a nimble stirring girle of ten yeares old when it tooke her — she hath ever since beene so lame that she cannot stand upright, much lesse goe soe, nor not with crutches. It is thought the weaknesse is in her backe and thighes; yet I hope she gets some little strength every year, and she can quickly goe (of her fashion) the length of a large roome. Some physitians thought it was a sort of palsie, others a rheumatismus, and many courses were taken with her, as letting blood, giving her spirits in vehicles, hote baths, putting her into warme cow-bellies new killed, (which had helped another girle seemingly in the same condition,) and drinking powder of swine-clawes, which had restored a woman 50 yeares old in Bradford, neare Manchester, to the use of her legges; annointing her with a salve made of bustion-grasse, which had cured a young
(cc) woman in Ashton-under-Line, &c.[1] But the desired effect followed not; onely she was somewhat better upon taking the spirits, as she thought. Some would have had us to carrie her to the Bath; but, besides that the charge was very great, and would much lessen her little portion that I intended her, an honest and able physitian, and my very good friend, being seriously asked whether he did really

[1] What a picture of the state of medical knowledge at the time; and what a blessing do we owe (even if it were only for putting down that last infirmity of vulgar minds, a leaning to the quackery of old women) to the Manchester Royal Infirmary!

believe that much good might rationally be expected by that meanes, said very little to it. Nor did it succeed with our countreywoman, Mrs. Swettenham of Swettenham, who, being in the same case in (dd) a manner, tried the Bath with hope of helpe, but died soone after it.[1]

Section viii.

Not long after this (but not within the time to which this chapter is limited) followed another sore storme; but God was pleased to refresh us, in the meane season, by a sunshine gleame as to my (ee) sonne — for never, since he was his owne governour, did he frame so well as now. When he taught at home, he was but over laborious, both in his owne studies and instructing his scholars; but he was so high, morose, and uncounsellable, that I could doe no good with him. I told him oft that he would spoile all by measuring others by himselfe; for though learning was both his calling and recreation, he must not thinke it would be so to them; and by keeping them so over strictly to it, he would get a name of severity, and deterre youths from coming to him,—as it fell out in the event. At London his pride and unadvisednesse rose higher proportionable to his temptation. Letters from me, and advice from his good friends upon the place, signified nothing; he made account he could doe his businesse without us, and would never be ruled by his well-wishers till he was forced to come downe to me pennilesse and penitent, like the prodigall. But now, being so soundly beaten by his owne rod, he would wonder at (ff) his owne stupidity for being (in his own phrase) in a dreame for a yeere and a halfe together, that is, while he was at Merchant Taylor's Schoole. Now (God be praised) he would not onely take, but also seek advice. Now I could prevaile with him to carrie so in his schole, as to win the hearts both of his boyes and their parents, of which this was a notable discovery;—when he was to leave Limme for a better place, the parents of children that lamented their owne loss, did yet rejoyce in his preferment, and some of them sent their (gg)

[1] This was Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Stanley, of Alderley, Bart., and wife of Thomas Swettenham, of Birtles, Esq. She died in 1681.

sonnes after him. The like love he got in his next schoole, of which hereafter.

As for his preaching, I prevailed with him to doe it plainely to the edification of his people, and not to preach himselfe, as he did at his first setting out. And though he was not so thoroughly countreyfied as to speake with that earnestnesse and affection (much lesse
(hh) an affected tone) that is very moving and acceptable to the ordinary sort of hearers, and profitable to be used among them, but spoke in that grave manner as set speeches usually are uttered among scholars and men of breeding, he studied to make them amends by affecting matter, such as the love of God in Christ, &c. And if some of his matter were sublime and uncouth to such eares, and his enlargement in the University stile, he would take care to avoid hard and light expressions, that his mind should be understood clearely, and his words carrie as much of weight as wit in them. By this he gave great content to scholars, gentlemen, and the more knowing sort of Christians. And if it had pleased God to have given him life for it, I question not but that he would in time have come to be more plaine and affectionate for the good of the vulgar.

Section ix.

About August, 1679, the minister of Northwych writ to him to supply his place for a day, in order (as he said) to gaine interest there in relation to the schoole, having a master at it that neither gave nor tooke content, and was lately begun to preach with intent to leave it as was thought. He, being now sensible of his former
(ii) rashnesse and preposterous actings, asked mine advice, and I disswaded him from it, making account that his appearing might make the schoolemaster to prize a place that another sought for, and make his friends bustle for him, if he had any. Besides, if he sought for a new place and missed it, the people at Limme would have a lower regard of him; but if, without his seeking, he were chosen by the feoffees, (which might easily be, his noble friend and mine, Colonel Venables, being that yeare Bayliffe-feoffee, that is the chiefe actor, a man of great interest amongst them, and well acquainted with his

abilities,) then the people at Limme would not be so disingenuous as to hinder his advantage, his incomes among them being rather too (jj) strait for his subsistence, his family being now increased. This advice he followed, and it succeeded to his content, for toward the end of that month he was chosen there.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

([a]) When one thing failes us we must try another.

([b]) In the multitude of counsellors is safetie.

([c]) Private content must veile to publick benefite.

([d]) Enjoyments do not alwayes answer expectations.

([e]) To keep up just repute we must oft suffer in our estate.

([f]) All is not gold that glisters.

([g]) Great estates are greatly burdened.

([h]) 'Tis good to satisfie inferiours of the reasons of things.

([i]) Actions are not to be rated according to events; for sometimes mad undertakings end well.

([j]) God saves us from many unseene dangers.

([k]) We must expect to have our way through this world checquered with blacke and white mercies and miseries.

([l]) The meanest instrument in God's hands is enough to ruine a guiltie person. Dogs, crowes, &c. have discovered murders.

([m]) Enough is as good as all.

([n]) Constant agreement with ourselves and others is a great signe of truth.

([o]) An hardened conscience may continue so to death.

([p]) Fond love, above reason, sometimes hurts the person beloved.

([q]) Parents, if they can, should provide fit matches for their children that incline to marriage.

([r]) No care nor meanes can prevent what God resolves to bring on.

([s]) Through repentance the sooner the better.

([t]) It is convenient men be employed about such things as they are best fitted for.

([u]) High spirits are not able to beare honour and applause.

([v]) It is good to cut our coates according to our cloath. What is proper for one may ruine another.

([w]) Men in vaine seeke to advance themselves out of God's way, and so without his blessing.

([x]) Follie heapes misery upon misery.

([y]) Sin makes men justly diffident towards them that are most proper to be confided in.

([z]) Such things are welcome in time of adversity as would have beene scorned in prosperity.

([aa]) Through tyranny elections oft signify nothing but what great ones please.

([bb]) God in wrath remembers mercie.

([cc]) Things must not alwayes have the like operation, that it may appeare God doth all.

([dd]) It is good that we learne to beware by others harmes.

([ee]) It is a mercie when God allowes a breathing space to fit for further trouble.

([ff]) The burnt child dreads the fire.

([gg]) True friendship will value a great advantage of another's, before a small one of our owne.

([hh]) Ministers do best performe their duties when they consider people's capacity, and endeavour to do them most good.

([ii]) Those that by uncounsellablenesse have brought misery on themselves are doubly obliged to take care that they doe not the like againe.

([jj]) It is a most disingenuous thing when people will neither allow a man competent maintenance suitable to his charge, nor give him leave to provide for himselfe elsewhere.

CHAPTER IX.

I. My sonne's teaching at Northwych, and death there. II. My losses thereby. III. The marriage of Madam Elizabeth Booth, and her death. IV. My propheticall dreame. V. Mr. Timothy Hill's death. VI. The removall of my family to Dr. Hunt's, and an account of two bookes then published, and two manuscripts. VII. The Duke of Monmouth's coming into Cheshire. VIII. My Token for Ship-Boyes, and a treasonable letter sent to me. IX. My contestes with Mr. S. X. My removall to mine owne house, and journey into Northumberland. XI. Severall great afflictions close together. XII. Mine imprisonment. XIII. My journey to Lancaster. XIV. The death of Mr. Briscowe.

Section i.

At Michaelmas, 1679, my sonne entred upon his place at Northwych, (called Witton-schoole,)[1] which put me into a necessitie of affording him fresh assistance. Those few household goods he had at Limme would not suffice here; I therefore gave him some, lent him others, (which proved gift in the event,) and furnished him with money to buy such as I could not spare. And this I was the more willing to doe, because he now framed well to his business, even (a) beyond his power; for he kept his preacher's place still at Warburton, which, together with his schoole, (especially till he had got it into order,) and some other avocations, was more than his weake body was able to bear. His paines was also encreased by the death of his usher, an honest and ingenious young man, whereby all was for a time devolved upon him, and at last a raw boy chosen by the feoffees. Yet his scholars came well on, tablers began to come to towne, and diverse more (whereof some were persons of quality) were about to send him their children; but (alas!) all was suddenly dashed, for he enjoyed this place onely ten monthes. There was (b)

[1] Witton School was founded in 1558 by Sir John Dean, Prebendary of Lincoln, and Rector of St. Bartholomew the Great, in London. The government of it is vested in twelve feoffees, by whom the master and scholars are appointed.

that yeare in the towne a very mortall feaver, but the schoole where he dwelt and taught, being upon a little hill by the church, a prettie distance from the towne, was free a good while from the infection; but his wife, weaning her child with a purpose to goe to Chester-faire, at the returne of her sucke fell into a feavour, and was exceeding ill. He, much desiring her life, and fearing her death, (c) begged of God that he might die in her stead, and was taken at his word; for she recovered, and he became so ill that there was little hope of his life. In the time of his sicknesse he sent betimes for his mother and me, humbled himselfe very affectionately to us, and begged of us foure things: — 1. To be freely forgiven by us; 2. That we would heartily pray for him; 3. That we would be kind to his poore fatherlesse child; 4. That his body might be carried to Rotherston, and buried by the bodies of his brethren and sisters. All which we granted and performed. His corpse was accompanied from Witton-schoole (drawne upon the frame of Mr. Venables' coach) to his grave, with many gentlemen and other fashionable[1] persons, and met with many more out of Rotherston parish, Lymme, Warburton, and Northwych. Mr. Livesey,[2] of Great Budworth, preached at his funerall, and gave him the character of *an industrious, learned, and usefull young man*, insinuating that it would be a more easie thing to find a man that could make a shift to preach

[1] The term fashionable has much changed its meaning since Adam's time. It was then confined to persons who were genteel both by birth and breeding; it is now, not unfrequently, applied to those who may have little claim either to one or the other.

[2] James Livesey, M.A., (who is not mentioned in Ormerod,) appears, from the evidence of the will of George Chetham, of Turton, Esq., (nephew of Humphrey Chetham,) whose daughter Mr. Livesey married, to have been vicar of Great Budworth in the year 1661. There can be little doubt, from the name, that the Humphrey Livesey mentioned before, (p. 193,) was the son of this Mr. Livesey, who published two voluminous funeral discourses, one upon the death of his wife's half-brother, Humphrey Chetham, (great-nephew of the Founder of Chetham's Hospital,) and the other upon James Atherton, of Atherton. He also wrote Jehosaphat's Charge to his Judges, on 2 Chron. xix. 6: Lond. 1657, 8vo. Discourse, Lond. 1660, 12mo. An Apology for the Power and Liberty of the Spirit; in three Sermons on Micah, ii. 7, 1674. Lond., 1684, 8vo.

a passable sermon, than one so fitted for a great schoole as he was. He said farther, that he himselfe (though knowne to be a scholar) would have changed learning with him any day in the weeke. But all that could not call him againe, nor the teares of his relations and scholars, nor sorrowe of the towne that their schoole suffered a wofull losse, as after it quickly proved, for it is since almost dwindled to nothing.

Section II.

But none suffered so much by his death as I and mine; for I did not onely part with an onely sonne in the best of his time, (about 30 yeares of age,) whose education had cost me so deare, notwithstanding all the helpes I had, and that when he was growne such an honest, usefull man, and courted by considerable preferrement upon his death-bed, but also I sustained considerable additionall losses; (d) for, 1. He was the onely life in my lease of this tenement, save onely his mother, who was then 59 yeares of age, a very considerable losse; 2. The money that he ought me, which I believed he would have repaid, (at least I could have charged on him for his sisters,) and the goods I lent him, which were squandered after his death, came to neare 40 pounds; 3. I have kept his child ever since, that is above five yeares alreadie, for he died on the first of August, 1680, and was buried the third; at which time we tooke the sweet infant (then not a yeare old) to us, and I would not take any man's 30 pounds to doe for his child what we have alreadie done for it, and are further to doe, whether I live or die; so that upon a moderate account, this last losse (after all the rest) may well be computed at 80 or 90 pounds; besides the charges of the funerall, which those that observed it will say was handsomely done.[1]

[1] It is said, that "from the sublime to the ridiculous is but a step;" and this would seem an instance of it only to be paralleled by the mingled liberality and parsimony of the Jew in *Ivanhoe*, were it not our duty to reflect, that it is, in the first place, an honest confession of what a less manly mind would have concealed; and secondly, that to secure even the necessaries of life for himself and his family had long been an object of anxious solicitude to Adam Martindale.

Section iii.

About this very time the Earle of Conway, after one of his Majestie's principall secretaries of state, married that virtuous and religious lady, Elizabeth, the daughter of my Lord Delamer. There (e) was great rejoycing at this marriage, he being a person of so great dignity and estate; but for my part I was much troubled and unsatisfied, and told some private friends that I durst trust, what my reasons were. The truth is, I liked not the man for severall weighty reasons, which (because he is dead) I shall now conceale. 2. I was (f) utterly against the giving of 10,000 pounds portion, absolutely without any exception, whether she lived or died, leaving any issue or none. This I thought unreasonable, and more than could well be spared. 3. I was verily perswaded, upon some divine and other philosophicall reasons, that the lady would never live to beare any child; and the impression of this perswasion was so strong, that I could not get it out of my mind. The next summer things proved much as I suspected. The religious lady (an 100 times too good for such a man) falls in labour, beares a dead child, and after dies herselfe, while he was proling at Court in a gainefull office for money, and would not come downe to her funerall, pretending (g) excesse of griefe; but, however, it was soone past, for within a few weekes (as I remember five) this excessively mournfull Lord took another comfortable importance, marrying a young airie lady. After much adoe, and long waiting on His Lordship's pleasure, at last he declared it, that he would be so kind as to take onely 5,000 for nothing, and assigned the other 5,000 pounds to My Lord's youngest daughter, the Lady Diana.[1]

[1] The mingled satire against the husband and sympathy for the bride, expressed in this passage, and in genuine Lancashire phraseology, is altogether inimitable. Edward, Earl of Conway, Secretary of State, was created to the earldom in 1679. He married thrice, but left no issue. "Lord Conway," says Burnet, "was brought in to be the other secretary, who was so very ignorant of foreign affairs, that, his province being the North, when one of the foreign ministers talked to him of the Circles of Germany, he was amazed. He could not imagine what circles had to do with the affairs of State." — Burnet's *Hist.* ii. 330.

Section iv.

But I had liked to have forgot another thing very remarkable, which fell out a little before this last great affaire, viz., an extraordinary dreame, which, for the generall, was this: — I thought I saw (h) two persons (then at London) with teares in their eyes, whereof the one told me a relation of theirs was like to suffer much by such and such meanes, mentioning things more particularly than is fit to be herein inserted. This I did not much mind, being onely a dreame. But on Tuesday next following comes a box with goods in it, directed to me, which should have come the Saturday before, but was, by the carrier's mistake, conveyed to Manchester, and thence sent backe on Tuesday. When I had taken out the goods, I found in the bottom of the box a large letter with no name at it, but writ every word by the hand of the same person that I had dreamed spoke to me, and almost the same things, word for word. This (I confesse) somewhat astonished me, and, resolving that my delay should produce no such inconvenience, I went forthwith about it; but it was past my helpe ere I came. And to the best of my remembrance the inconvenience fell out upon the Lord's-day, betwixt the time that the goods should have come, and the day that they did come. But certainely this mistake of the carrier (who was never guiltie of the like before or (i) since in any concernement of mine, that came to my knowledge) is to be ascribed to an higher cause than his inadvertencie.[1]

Section v.

There was another thing worth the noting; my sonne's *fidus Achates*, (my cousin Timothy Hill,) who had beene his companion so much in studies, travells, and conversation, died just a month after him, to an houre, viz. upon the 29th of August, 1680, at two of the clocke. God taking them both (I hope) into heaven at the same time of day whereon they used to goe to his church on earth

[1] It would not be impossible to account for this dream without calling in the interference of supernatural agency; but Adam's narrative is as mysterious as the subject.

to doe him service. He died in Chester, at my brother Nathan Jollie's[1] house, being minister of Stoke, and in a way of marriage.

Section vi.

The first of May following, viz. 1681, having now had my family seven yeares at the Thorne, (whither my landlord himselfe was then to come with his household,) I removed it to Dr. Hunt's house, of Hough-heath, in Meire, where we abode three yeares. Soone after (My Lord being come downe) I begun that yeares' attendance at Dunham; and, considering that there was never a booke (j) in our English tongue so fitted to the capacities of new-beginners, as I thought easie to be made, (as I have further shewed in my preface,) I writ that treatise called *The Countrey-Survey-Book*, and annexed an appendix to it for the entertainment of ingenious persons of a higher forme, which was after printed by Mr. John Playford, to be sold by Mr. Clavel, of Paul's Church-yard.[2]

[1] Nathan Jollie was brother in half blood to Mrs. Martindale.

[2] This very scarce little work, which has already been quoted in these notes, is not in the British Museum, but I have been kindly supplied with a copy by my venerable and learned friend the Rev. *W. P. Greswell;* of whom it may be remarked (as connected with the subject of this work) that he has occupied the pulpit of "the good Mr. Angier, of Denton," for more than half a century. The highest testimony that can be given to its worth as an elementary work on the subject which it professes to treat, is contained in the fact, that Mr. Greswell has used it as a text-book during the course of a long scholastic life; and it is certainly quite free from that prescriptive dulness which seems always to have formed the *beau ideal* of writers of elementary manuals. The title-page is as follows:—The Countrey-Survey-Book: or Land-Meters' Vade-Mecum. Wherein the Principles and Practical Rules for Surveying of Land, are so plainly (though briefly) delivered, that any one of ordinary parts (understanding how to add, subtract, multiply, and divide,) may, by the help of this small Treatise alone and a few cheap Instruments easy to be procured, Measure a parcel of Land, and with judgment and expedition Plot it, and give up the Content thereof. With an Appendix, containing Twelve Problems touching Compound Interest and Annuities; and a method to contract the work of Fellowship and Alligation Alternate, very considerably in many cases. Illustrated with Copper Plates. By Adam Martindale, a Friend to Mathematical Learning. *Frustrà fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora.* London, printed by A. G. & J. P. for R. Clavel, at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1682." 234 pages, 12mo.

The next yeare after, considering what a clutter was made in pulpits by raw youths, that had never studied the controversies concerning Calvinisme and Arminianisme, and how freely many (k) private Christians talked for, and against, free will, so that it was evident they were free from all true judgement in the controversie; and taking notice what offence might be taken by plaine Christians at these speculative controversies concerning justification, that were managed with eagernesse enough among many eminent men, and what advantage the subtiler sort of Papists would make of them, in perswading silly souls of the weight of these points, wherein such great men differed, and the great unity that is to be found amongst themselves, (though that is abominably false, and so knowne to all the learned among them,) and withall fearing that Popery and Antinomianisme, which, like Samson's foxes, tooke contrary wayes, might yet so farre agree as to carrie firebrands betweene them to burne up God's saving truth, I writ that little treatise called *Truth and Peace Promoted*.[1] Wherein I shewed the well-meaning Christian how he might keep on in a sure path to salvation, notwithstanding all these thornie disputes; wherein (as I made it plaine, though in a narrow compasse, that the booke might be vendible) their soule's interest was little concerned.

The same yeare I was engaged in two controversies more, but onely by manuscripts, never printed, (as designed mainely, though not onely, for the use of private friends.) The one was a short one, by way of animadversion upon the new booke called Julian the Apostate,[2] in a large letter to a learned and reverend minister, who

[1] It is much to be regretted that this little book is not to be found.

[2] The author of this work was Samuel Johnson, Chaplain to Lord Russell, and Rector of Corrington, in Essex, a man of remarkable learning and steadiness in suffering, born in Warwickshire, 1649; died in 1703. The title of the book here referred to, is — "Julian the Apostate: being an account of his Life, and the sense of the Primitive Christians about his Succession," &c. London, 1682, 1689, 8vo. This tract, being opposed to the doctrine of Passive Obedience, was answered by Dr. Hickes, in a piece entitled Jovian, &c., to which Johnson drew up a reply under the title of, Julian's arts to undermine and extirpate Christianity; together with answers to Constantius the Apostate and Jovian. London, 1689, 8vo. Of the merits of this once celebrated but now almost forgotten writer, Coleridge has given

desired me to do that small piece of worke; and I shewed, that though the principles of that tract might prove plausible to inconsiderate persons, and were notably improved by the author, whom his answerer confessed to be a learned and ingenious sonne of the Church of England, they cannot lawfully, nor without scandall and (1) mischiefe, be put in practice; and, consequently, that it was a very dangerous booke. Copies of this letter were sent and shewed to many, and generally well approved, and by none attempted to be answered. My Lord and Lady Delamer, with whom I dwelt, and to whom I read it, liked it so well, that they have since blamed me for not doing myselfe right by printing it; but larger answers being come out while this was creeping abroad in private, it seemed neither so necessary nor proper to do it.

The other was much larger, taking up of my spare houres for about a yeare's time, because of the multitude of authors that I was to read, examine, and compare, and some of them of great bulke; for I was desired by a very noble friend, to give in mine opinion and grounds touching this question: — *Whether kneeling in receiving the*

the following striking and accurate estimate in his Table-Talk, p. 232, 2*nd Ed.*—

"Samuel Johnson, whom, to distinguish him from the Doctor, we may call the Whig, was a very remarkable writer. He may be compared to his contemporary De Foe, whom he resembled in many points. He is another instance of King William's discrimination, which was so much superior to that of any of his ministers. Johnson was one of the most formidable advocates for the Exclusion Bill, and he suffered by whipping and imprisonment under James accordingly. Like Asgill, he argues with great apparent candour and clearness till he has his opponent within reach, and then comes a blow as from a sledge-hammer. I do not know where I could put my hand upon a book containing so much sense and sound constitutional doctrine as this thin folio of Johnson's Works; and what party in this country would read so severe a lecture in it as our modern Whigs!

"A close reasoner and a good writer in general may be known by his pertinent use of connectives. Read that page of Johnson; you cannot alter one conjunction without spoiling the sense. It is a linked strain throughout. In your modern books, for the most part, the sentences in a page have the same connection with each other that marbles have in a bag; they touch without adhering.

"Asgill evidently formed his style upon Johnson's, but he only imitates one part of it. Asgill never rises to Johnson's eloquence. The latter was a sort of Cobbett-Burke."

Lord's supper be lawfull? This put me upon a necessity of perusing not onely all printed bookes of any consequence, but all manuscripts also, upon that subject, that I could procure, to see what had been (m) said upon every argument against kneeling, by such as had writ *pro* or *con.;* still giving answers of mine own, where I either found none, or none to my satisfaction. One copie of this booke, at his owne charge, was desired by a worthy friend in London, of a contrary persuasion to mine, who promised to returne me animadversions upon it, but none ever came; perhaps because of the distractions of the cittie and nation. Another copie hath beene a traveller up and downe in Lancashire and Cheshire, especially to Manchester, where a worthy brother favoured me with a reply to my answer to an argument of his own, to which I returned my rejoinder, and there it resteth.[1]

Section vii.

That summer the Duke of Monmouth came into Cheshire to Wallasie-Race, and thence to Rock-Savage, Dunham, Moire, Gauseworth, &c. At this, also, I was very much troubled; for though I suspected not any such things as after followed, yet I considered that our gentrie, being alreadie falling into two parties, this would (n) certainely heighten that State-Schisme, beyond all probability of an accommodation.[2] But it was my place to be at Dunham when he came, and my dutie to wait upon some persons to Moire, which

[1] It would be very interesting to see Martindale's summary of a controversy, once so bitterly agitated, but now not likely to be revived.

[2] For the history of the Rebellion of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles II. see *History of England*. So many were at that time the causes, real or surmised, of popular discontent, that there can be little doubt, with some more prudent management, this movement might have been successful. Lord Delamer's son, as has already been stated, was tried on suspicion of having been implicated in the rebellion, but acquitted. In Newcome's Diary, under the date, July 13, 1683, occurs the following:—"A time of great amazement and trouble. Mr. *Booth* fetcht away. 17th. We had the amazing newes of the cutting of the Earle of Essex's throat in the Tower; the Lord *Russell* with others condemned. But saddest of all, if they should be so left of God as to be guilty of so horrid a conspiracy! And in truth, this was my burthen all this time, more that such men should attempt such things, than that it was discovered, or that they suffered."

were by order consigned to my care, to see that, in such a tumult, they were not neglected. Being there, among a number of ministers, many more young gentlemen being in the next roome, one of them comes abruptly among us, and said, the gentlemen (or a gentleman, I remember not whether,) in the next roome desired we would satisfie them concerning Julian the Apostate. I, knowing whom he struck at, desired to understand who sent him; which he refusing to tell, I went in among them, and excusing myselfe (by the publick affront that was given me) for returning mine answer so promiscuously to them all, I did it so much to their conviction, that one of the most ingenious of them said, I had done very well; and the rest sate silent.

Section viii.

The next yeare I writ another little mathematicall treatise concerning navigation, called a Token for Ship-Boyes, in three new
(o) methods, all plaine and briefe, which was printed for Mr. John Houghton, Fellow of the Royall Societie,[1] (1683,) in his collection of letters and papers for the advancement of husbandry and trade; whom (at his earnest request) I had furnished with severall disco-

[1] John Houghton, F.R.S., published several works besides the one here referred to, on the subject of husbandry. In this work, the following articles were written by Martindale: — Vol. i. No. 6, Thursday, May 18, 1682. A Letter from the ingenious Mr. Adam Martindale, of Cheshire, about improving Land by Marle. No. 11, Thursday, December 16, 1682. A farther account from the ingenious Mr. Adam Martindale, of Cheshire, about improving Land by Marle. Vol. ii. No. 1. A Token for Ship-Boyes: or plain sailing made more plain and short than usual, in three particular methods. In a letter to the Publisher from Adam Martindale, a Lover of the Mathematicks. No. 4, Dec. 11, 1683. An account of a great improvement of Mossie land, by burning and liming, from Mr. Adam Martindale, of Cheshire.

While upon the subject of Martindale's occasional contributions to periodical works, I may take this opportunity of mentioning, that there appear in the Philosophical Transactions, Abr. i. 539, 1670, "Extracts of Two Letters, written from Rotherston, in Cheshire, by the ingenious Mr. Adam Martindale, concerning the Discovery of a Rock of Natural Salt in that County." This is chiefly remarkable as being the first published philosophical account of that now important mineral.

veries (since by him published) touching the husbandrie of our countrey; but knew not how to gratify in reference to trade, save in this way, within mine owne element.

This summer, by the breaking out of the conspiracie of the Duke of Monmouth, the Lord Gray, of Warke, and many other considerable persons, (whose names, hystories, and fates, I need not tell, their being a large narrative of it,) many were imprisoned in the Tower, which afterwards came off in due forme of law. Among the rest, Mr. Booth (now Lord Delamer) was one; and as a circumstance to make his guilt more probable, (as wiser heads than mine thought,) his father's chaplaine (who they supposed understood no (p) law) must be ensnared into treason, or, at the least, misprision. I doe not beleeve that this was the designe of any person of quality; but rather of some pettie malitious fellowes of our neighbours, then at London, whereof some had pray'd for his confusion, and brag'd what they could doe against him. At this time a letter was sent downe, and brought me by the postwoman, subscribed R. Baxter, as full of treason as an egge is full of meate. I did a little suspect, before I opened it, by the unusual sort of hand, and forme of superscription, that it was a piece of knaverie; and staying that woman till I had read it, I told her there was treason in it; caused her to make a marke upon it, that she might knowe it againe; and wished her to (q) remember punctually the day and houre, soe neare as she could, when she delivered it to me. Away, then, I posted with it to a justice, and put it into his hands; and at the month's meeting I produced two letters, written by Mr. Baxter's owne hand; the one to myselfe, in a controversie betwixt him and me, touching morall and physicall evidence; and another, to a worthy minister of Lancashire. By comparing of which with the treasonable letter, it appeared that the hands were as like as an apple and an oyster. And so this dull thing vanished.[1]

[1] Dishonest artifices like this were no uncommon acts in these days of sham plots and public alarms; and Baxter's name, as the head of a powerful party, was not unfrequently thus abused.

Section ix.

The same yeare, there came out a new booke, intituled *The Patriarchall Sabbath*, written by Mr. Smith, Lecturer at Bolton;[1] in which there are many things of very bad consequence, as I made bold to tell the authour when I met him in Manchester. My cousin Tilsley, of Manchester, desired me to write against it; which I was loath to doe, because then very busie about my manuscript touching *kneeling at the Sacrament*. But at last I yielded,
(r) designing onely six or seven sheets for the overthrowing of his maine grounds; the farre greater part of his booke lying remote from the vitals of his cause. When I had drawne this up, Mr. Moxon, bookseller in Manchester, desired me to give him a copie for the presse; but I refused then to doe it, being resolved to discourse with Mr. Smith before substantiall witnesses, to see what he was able to say in answer to mine objections, and whether any more tender course could be taken to vindicate wronged truth, then to
(s) expose him in print; or, at the least, I thought I should not faile to understand where he laid his greatest stresse, and his fixed sence of things seemingly ambiguous. So I went, and heard him preach his lecture, upon Monday, August 6th; and after dinner, before three ancient ministers, all his neighbours, I told him my businesse, and charged him, that he had injured, 1. The holy Scriptures; 2. The Christian Sabbath; 3. The Church of England; 4. The writers for the Lord's-day, and particularly myselfe; which fourefold charge I was readie to make good. I began with the first charge,

[1] This Mr. Smith, who was a native of York, and educated by Mr. Ralph Ward, the minister particularly patronized by Lady Hewley, was the first to cause division in the camp of the dissenters by the new views which he took concerning the imputation of Christ's righteousness. He intitled the book in which these notions were first broached, "The true notion of Imputed Righteousness, and our Justification thereby; being a supply of what is lacking in the late book of that most learned person Dr. Stillingfleet," &c., and it was followed in the same year by "A Defence of the foregoing Doctrine against some growing Opposition among Neighbours, Ministers and others." The book here referred to, on the Patriarchal Sabbath, I have not discovered.

concerning injury done to the Scriptures, and shewed that he had corrupted Exod. xvi. 12, in his 123rd page, by foisting into it these words, [*this day*] without which (though it was his chiefe text) it (t) would doe him no service. 2. That he had said, most untruly, page 86, that all the other nine precepts are the very same, *verbatim*, with those that were writ on the two tables, as they were spoken on the mount, and lays a great stresse upon it; whereas the contrary is plaine by inspection. 3. That he said he might, without deserved blame, preferre the Septuagint before the Hebrew, Exod. xvi. 1, (in his 113th page.) 4. That in his 103rd and 104th pages, he speakes more disgracefully against the Hebrew originalls, (as being corrupted spitefully by the learned Jewes,) then such Papists as Bellarmine; (u) yea, or Father Simon[1] himselfe, whose designe is to make the Scriptures imperfect, without tradition.

When I had gone thus farre, he excused himselfe by businesse, and I could never get opportunity afterwards to discuss the rest before competent witnesses. Some of the ministers were earnest with me to revise my papers, and print them. I promised to revise them, but kept myselfe free as to printing; yet, afterwards, I put a revised copie into Mr. Moxon's hands, and agreed with him about termes of printing it. But he sent it to Philip Burton, of Warrington, who agrees with a London bookseller in the Poultrie, and by agreement I (with friends to assist me) was to take off 150 copies, Mr. Moxon 100, and Burton 50. The Londoner after goes backe with his engagement, and I sent to him for my copie; but he returned answer, that Burton ought him money, and he would not part with it. Burton, on the other hand, said he ought him nothing, (v) engaged afresh, upon the penaltie of five pounds, that my copie should either be printed, or returned to me, before a day long since past; but utterly failes me every way, and here is an end (such as it (w) is) of that businesse; onely, whenever Mr. Smith pleaseth, I am at

[1] Father Richard Simon, a learned French critic and divine, was born at Dieppe in 1638, and died in 1712. He was a voluminous writer on sacred criticism. The book here referred to is probably Histoire Critique de Vieux Testament. Par. 1678, 1680, 4to. Reprinted at Amsterdam by the Elzevirs; In Latin. Amst. 1681.

his service (if God give me health) to make good the rest of my charge.

Section x.

Being wearied out with so many changes of habitation, I at last (x) removed my family to mine owne house in Leigh, in the beginning of May, 1684. At which time I was sent by my Lord and Lady Delamer to Sir Ralph Delavall's, of Seaton-Delavall,[1] seven miles beyond Newcastle, in Northumberland, about a marriage betweene his sonne and My Lord's youngest daughter; where the providence of God did not onely succeed me in my businesse, but also watch over me in two respects —

1. Of the barbarous robber Brawdrick,[2] and his partners in Yorkeshire; from whom God delivered me, though I passed and re-passed through the place which they haunted.

2. Of a dangerous ford through a river, neare Poole, which probably I had taken, for want of better directions from my guide that (y) set me that way, had not God provided me a better guide at the river's side, to direct to a safer ford not farre off.

Section xi.

Now troubles came fast upon me; for while I was expending (z) money freely in altring and repairing my house, so as to make it fit for us to live in, my poore daughter's husband, Andrew Barton, being a tallow-chandler, and having converted part of a great barne upon his owne freehold estate into a workhouse for his trade, had

[1] This shews in a striking manner the confidence placed in his chaplain by Lord Delamer. Diana, his daughter, married, first, Sir Ralph Delavall, of Seaton-Delavall, Bart.; and secondly, Sir Edward Blackett, of Newby-Park, county of York, Bart.

[2] The Editor much regrets that no researches of his have enabled him to discover the history or exploits of this once formidable out-law. It is well that the name itself survives, for it wears a most truculent air; and would figure well in the adventures and horrors of a Border Ballad. Had Adam encountered this terrible Yorkshire thief in the days of his single-stick triumphs, the issue might have been doubtful.

both the said workhouse and the rest of his barne, with his engine, and a great quantity of candles and boards, burnt to ashes; and it was a wonderfull providence that all his other buildings were saved. (aa) For had the wind but blowne one point of the compasse more westardly, or three new ladders been unmade, or a new well by the house undigged, or if there had not beene store of company at hand, (mending the highwayes neare his house,) nothing could have beene saved from the rage of that all-devouring element. However, these (bb) young people's losse was very considerable; and though I was not able to do for them what I would, something must be done, according to my ability.

Next, I was surprised by a sore feaver, upon July 24th, and my wife, coming to tend me, upon the 28th; on which day we were both sent home in my lord's coach. My poore daughter, Barton, coming to see us, with her little infant sucking on her breast, fell both sicke, together with my sonne's daughter; so that we were five down at once, the weather being extreme hot, and people so busie in their harvest that helpe was hardly to be got; only God was pleased to preserve all our lives, and the health of my poore lame daughter and maid, which was a speciall mercie to us. In the time of this sicknesse, I suffered the unspeakable losse of my deare and faithfull (cc) friend, my noble Lord Delamer,[1] together with all hopes of employment at Dunham (with the other loss not to be named,) and (which is not the least) the want of my health in a great measure ever since, (dd) being still weake and tender, and, by times, much distempered.

Section xii.

But this would not excuse me from imprisonment; for upon the

[1] Lord Delamer, the great patron of the Presbyterian cause, died at Dunham on the 10th August, 1684, and was buried at his parish church of Bowden; where a beautiful Latin inscription is dedicated to his memory by William Andrews, who had been for thirty years his faithful domestic servant, and who lies, at his own request, in the same tomb with his master. The following is Newcome's entry in his Diary on the death of Lord Delamer:—"The Lord *Delamer*, my good friend and favourer, dyed a little before this, and was buryed with great solemnity at *Boden*, Sept. 9; at whose Funeral Mr. *Cawdrey* preached."

rebellion in the west, the Deputy-Lieutenants had order from the King to secure all Non-conformist ministers. This admitted of no defence, the order being absolute, without exception or qualification; else I could have proved, by substantial witnesses, that I had writ (ee) against the principles of Julian the Apostate, three years before; and had ever since declared myself for submission and obedience (in lawfull things) to the King and his ministers, whatever his principles or practices be; yea, though he had beene (as he was not) a persecuting infidel, as those in the primitive times were. That I had given out many reasons in writing why I thought it ridiculous in the Duke of Monmouth to pretend legittimacie and rebellion, in seeking to compasse the crowne and invade His Majesty's dominions. And that I had, by word, writing, and example, laboured to keep up the peace and honour of the parishional churches of England, and disswaded from separation. All this would have been (and after was) fully asserted by three neighbour gentlemen, whose testimonie was above all just exception; but of these things the soldiers that fetched me away were no judges, their warrant being indisputable. Onely (ff) in this I thought the corporall was too hard with me, for his order was to apprehend all mentioned in such a list; to bring the most considerable to Chester, and secure the meaner sort at the head quarters, viz., at Knutsford; and there was not above one in the list that could be accounted a meaner man than myself; and though I was very sickly, in so much as I was forced to ly downe twice by the way, nothing would serve but to Chester I must that day, being neare twenty miles that way that we went. But in this he was very civill, that he suffered me to ride at mine owne rate, having onely one soldier to goe along with me; and to refresh myselfe that night and some of the next day at my brother Jollie's house, in Chester, he passing for me body for body. But, whether this officer exceeded his commission or not, I am satisfied in this, that a speciall provi- (gg) dence of God brought me thither, watched over me there, and brought me off; for—

1. I was well, and not very wearie, when I came to Chester, (though none should have hired me to ride so farre on a day for a

guinney in the case I was in;) and my health continued all the time of my durance.

2. There was opportunity, at my coming in, to satisfie six poore men, who scrupled the oath of allegiance, that had beene there a prettie while, and were in little hopes of satisfaction or release. (hh)

3. I was very wholesomely lodged, comfortably dieted, and civilly used (for my money) by the jailer and his family.

4. Though malicious enemies reported that I was melancholie, I never had a more cheerefull time in my life, having the constant feast of a good conscience, in regard of mine innocencie, excellent company, and great spirituall libertie amongst ourselves in our chambers. (ii)

5. The Deputie-Lieutenants came to Chester, and offered me (without asking, or expecting it so soone) libertie to goe home upon bond, without returning, when I had beene onely prisoner from June 27th, in the morning, till July 15th, at night. (jj)

6. This bond was voluntarily given in to one of my sureties in Chester, about July 23rd, I knowing nothing of it.

7. God so blessed my businesse at home, and some Christian friends were so kind in their visits, presents, and gratuities, that upon the whole matter, I thinke I rather gained then lost by that imprisonment. A mercie (I'le assure the reader) not usuall with me. (kk)

Section xiii.

Soone after my coming home, I was served with a subpœna to appeare at Lancaster a second time, to give evidence in a wrangling businesse, (about two fulling-milnes neare Rochdale,) which I had formerly, by my interest in both parties, laboured to compose; and by the assistance of Mr. Bamford, of Bamford,[1] my fellow arbitrator, and the consent of the litigants, made (as I thought) a finall order, to take away all occasions of suits for the future. I was much out of order for a journey; the weather very foule when I was to set out; (ll) (mm)

[1] Probably Samuel Bamford, of Bamford, Esq., who married Susanna, daughter of Richard Lomax, of Bury, Gent., and died in 1702.

some waters that I was to passe alreadie high, and rising fast. I had these three bad choices, — either to venture my health by riding in the raine to passe the waters before they were too high; my life in taking them when they were not passable without great danger; or an hundred pounds for not appearing in due time, (for that was the penaltie,) being not well able to ride above 12 miles on a day. I was advised to the first; and though the foule weather quickly ceased, and I kept to such easie stages, and wanted nothing fit for a man, yet I was so overcome by my journey, that the next night after I came to Lancaster, I fell terribly sick, insomuch as I almost despaired of living till morning; yet (blessed be God) I was enabled the next day to wait at the court about my businesse; and two dayes after
(nn) that, to undertake and performe my journey homeward cheerefully; whereas such sick-fits at home use not to goe off of severall weekes, as I have found by deare experience, both before and since.

Section xiv.

Soone after my returne home, I met with the newes of Mr. Briscowe's death, who was one of my fellow-prisoners, a solid, able scholar, and a singular good preacher. We were not directly of the same perswasion (for he was throughly congregationall;) but that bred no dissension among us. The losse of him was the sadder,
(oo) because he followed so many worthy men of the Non-conformist's perswasion, that within a yeare, or little more, had left their earthly habitations in Lancashire, for a better in heaven; viz. Mr. Bell, Mr. Bradshaw of Darcey-Lever, Mr. Tilsley, Mr. Wright,[1] Mr. Mallinson,[2] and Mr. Scholes,[3] all learned men and profitable preachers, and the three first very eminent.

[1] Mr. Wright held Billinge Chapel, but lived on the whole a private life.

[2] Mr. Mallinson held Melling in this county. He was rather esteemed as a scholar than a preacher.

[3] Mr. Jeremy Scoales, of Norton, in Derbyshire, was a native of Salford. "He used to take much delight in days of prayer and humiliation, in which he was often charged by his brethren with holding out too long; though he was usually pertinent and acceptable." He died in 1685.

When God is housing his sheep (or rather sheep-herds) so fast, it is a dangerous prognosticke of a storme ere long to ensue.[1]

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE NINTH CHAPTER.

([a]) Parents are willing to helpe their toward children.

([b]) Great hopes are quickly dash't.

([c]) Affection, without discretion, doth ill in prayers.

([d]) Losses come oft in heapes.

([e]) There may be great cause of sorrow when there seemes to be great matter of joy.

([f]) Much would have more, as the proverbe is.

([g]) Excessive shewes of sorrow spend themselves quickly.

[1] Such, together with the scriptural reflection which concludes his "Observations," is the melancholy close of this remarkable Diary. We see that sorrows are gradually gathering about his old age, like clouds and shadows round the setting sun, but we are not permitted to observe their effects upon his temper or his fortunes. There is a melancholy satisfaction to the mind in contemplating, without being pained by the observation of his last declining moments. Probably he had not the heart to write them; for mere complaining was not in accordance with his manly nature. Yet what was there before him but gloom and sorrow? His health had been deeply injured by persecution and the advance of age; his friend and patron was in his grave; his party was under a shade, and the great men among them had turned to the brighter side in religion and politics; his son, the hope of his house, had preceded him to the tomb; his "poor lame daughter," his little delicate grand-daughter, and his aged wife, were alone left to cheer his domestic fire-side; and his "poor daughter Barton" had probably cares enough of her own. He seems (see Chap. IV. Sect. 11) to have commenced (and probably concluded) this Journal in the year 1685; and in the Parish Register of the Church of Rotherston is found this simple record of his death: — "Sepulturæ Anno Dom. 1686. Mr. Adam Martindale of Leigh, bur: Septem. 21." Thus he was buried (as he himself would not have failed to remark) on the very day of his "new birth by Baptisme," and when he had just completed his 63rd year. He has left behind him no descendant to hand down his name, no portrait to represent his features and habit, to posterity. "After life's *fitful fever* he sleeps well," — without a stone or an epitaph, in the chancel of that beautiful church which was the scene of so many of his labours and sorrows; and he is gone silently to that bourne, where, — whatever may have been the imperfections of his opinions or his disposition, for which he is hardly responsible, — his faith and hope, his indomitable perseverance, and his steady devotion to his Master's service, will not be forgotten.

([h]) Some dreames (if one knew which) are worth regarding.

([i]) God wisely orders men's heedlesse mistakes.

([j]) Matter must be adapted to readers' capacities.

([k]) Speculative controversies oft hurt practicall pietie.

([l]) The errours of learned and ingenious men are more than ordinarily spreading and dangerous.

([m]) Matters of consequence require diligent search.

([n]) It is a sad and dangerous thing to have factions in a countrey amongst men of interest.

([o]) A plaine rule, the briefer the better.

([p]) Malice seldom underdoes its worke.

([q]) Great caution is necessary when our ruine is designed.

([r]) If the maine pillars of a discourse be overthrowne, the rest will fall of themselves.

([s]) A minister's credit should not be needlessely impaired.

([t]) Partiall affection to their owne notions makes even quicksighted men blind.

([u]) Love to noveltie transports beyond all due bounds.

([v]) When it lies not in our owne single power to fullfill a promise, it is ill engaging too farre.

([w]) With faithlesse men no engagements hold.

([x]) Home is home, (as the proverbe sayes,) though never so homely. An ordinary seat, if a man's owne, is a great mercie.

([y]) God prevents dangers when just imminent.

([z]) Our bad humours are so tough, and hardly purged out, that God, in wisdome, keeps us in a long course of physick.

([aa]) What God takes not away he gives us, seeing we have often forfeited all. Therefore, in great afflictions, we should observe signall deliverances, with the remarkable circumstances of them.

([bb]) Helpe in time of great need is a singular mercie.

([cc]) The losse of a true and noble friend is an unspeakable losse.

([dd]) Health is a singular mercie.

([ee]) Innocent men oft suffer for the guiltie's sake.

([ff]) We must expect hard dealings from meane men acting according to their owne wills.

([gg]) What men doe weakely, God overrules wisely. Had I not beene carried to Chester, some things that made for God's glory had not beene. This the soldiers little thought of, much lesse aimed at.

([hh]) Sound satisfaction to such as suffer for mistakes is a great mercie.

([ii]) Prison-comforts may be very sweet. Acts, xvi.

([jj]) Unexpected mercies are surprizing.

([kk]) God can easily turne afflictions into advantages.

([ll]) Intending and indeavouring peace and the good of others, sometimes brings great troubles to ourselves.

([mm]) Cases may be so difficult, that the best advice is short enough to relieve us.

([nn]) It helpes us to beleeve the resurrection of the dead, to consider how quickly God can deliver from sore sicknesse, which at other times brings us low.

([oo]) When God removes his choice servants fast from us, it is a fearefull signe of judgement coming. Isay. lvii. 1.

THE END.

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